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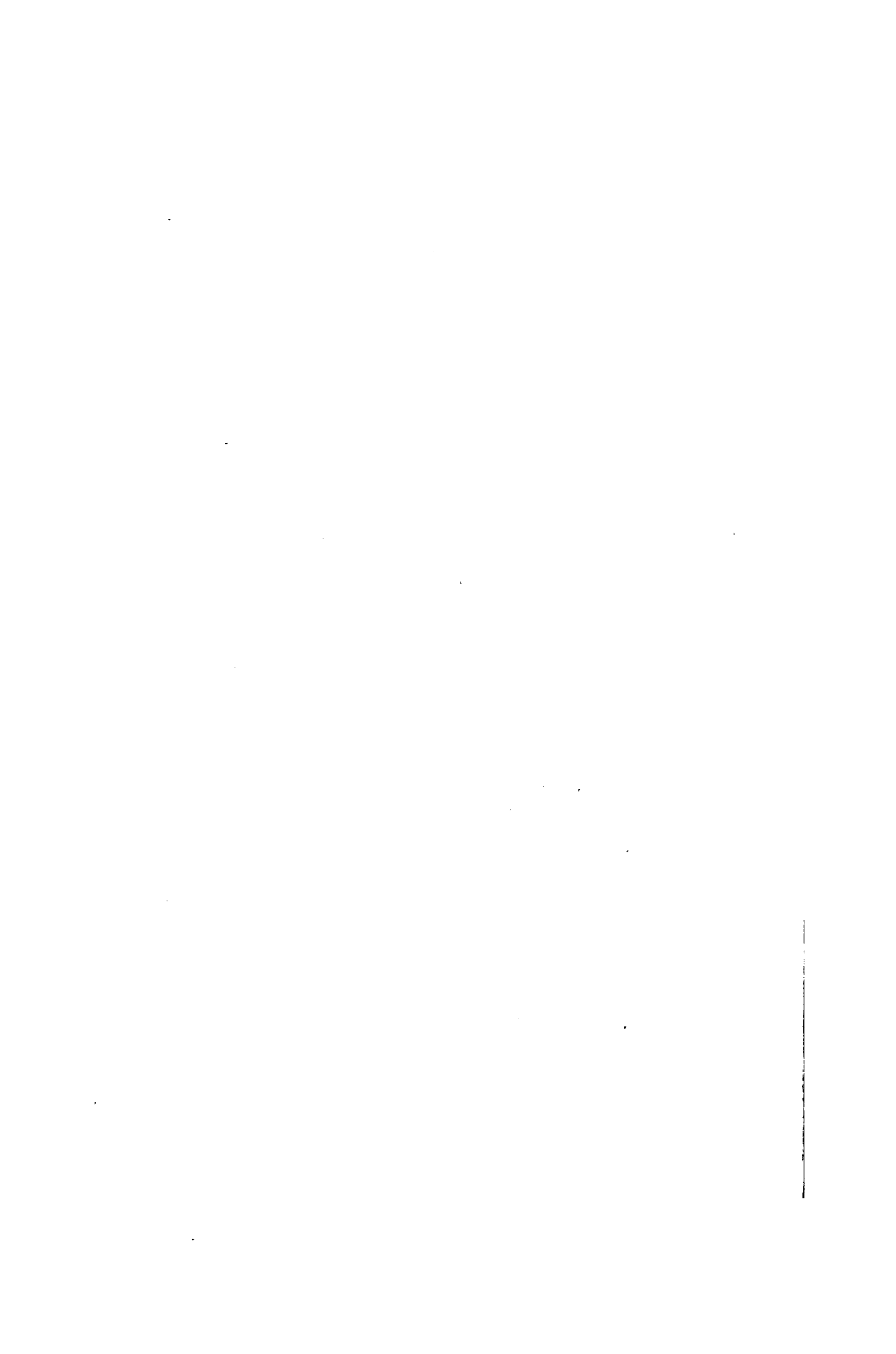
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HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF THE
RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE
OF
THE REFORMATION
IN
POLAND,
AND OF
THE INFLUENCE WHICH THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINES HAVE
EXERCISED ON THAT COUNTRY IN LITERARY, MORAL,
AND POLITICAL RESPECTS.

BY
COUNT VALERIAN KRASINSKI.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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P R E F A C E
TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

PROTRACTED ill health, and other circumstances above the control of the Author, have delayed the publication of this volume to a time much beyond that at which it was his original intention that it should appear; and he trusts that the Subscribers, as well as the Public, will pardon him for this involuntary delay.

In the Preface to the first volume he acknowledged the valuable services rendered to him by a countryman, whose researches have been of great assistance in the composition of this work. He has only to add, that as their respective views on many subjects connected either with religion or politics are materially different, nay, on some points diametrically opposed, the responsibility for the opinions expressed in this work must entirely rest with himself.

The Author understands that the gentleman to whom allusion is made has the intention of publishing a work in Polish on the same subject, and it is sincerely hoped that he will accomplish his project at no distant date; for such an important subject as the influence of religion on the political and social state of nations cannot be too much investigated, nor the consequent gain to the cause of religion be too highly estimated.

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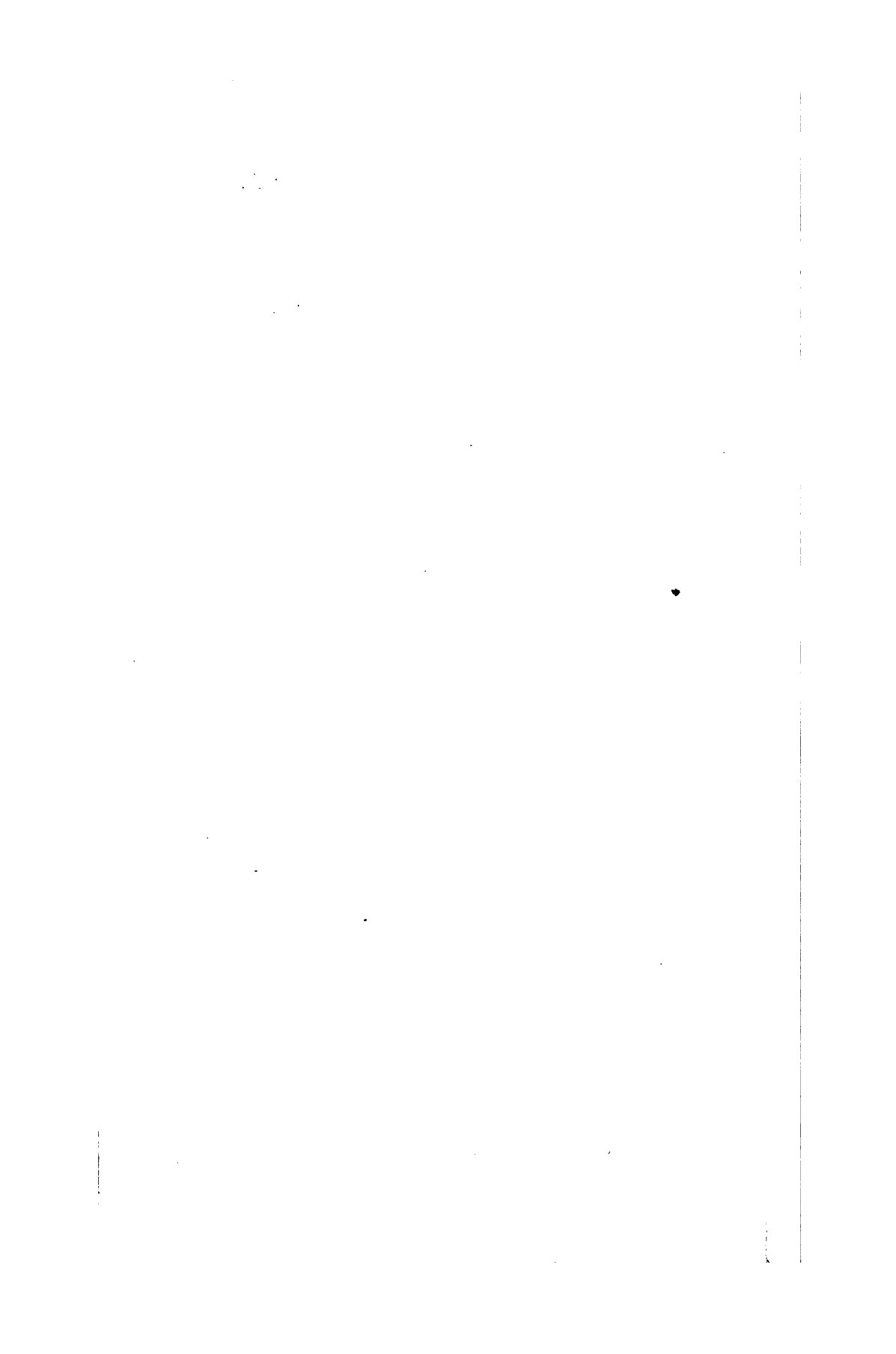
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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

REFORMATION IN POLAND.

CHAPTER I.

INTERREGNUM AFTER THE DEATH OF SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS. ACCESSION AND SHORT REIGN OF HENRY OF VALOIS.

THE state of Poland at the demise of Sigismund Augustus was very critical, from the unsettled manner in which the vacant throne was to be filled. The election of a monarch, which had existed only in theory so long as the Jaguelonian dynasty continued without interruption, was now fairly to be put to the test by its extinction. This most important political transaction ought certainly to have been regulated by strictly defined forms; but although several Diets had attempted to regulate by precise rules the manner in which the sovereign of the country should be

State of Poland at the death of Sigismund Augustus.

elected, their salutary projects were defeated by causes, which, to investigate, would be foreign to our subject; and the most important affair of the state remained exposed to the violence of passions, and to the pernicious influence of domestic and foreign intrigues. The religious parties which at that time divided Poland, rendered the election of a new monarch still more difficult, as the Protestants were anxious to bestow the crown of their country on a candidate of their own persuasion, or at least on such a one as would promote their views. On the other hand, the Roman Catholics were strenuously labouring to insure the throne to a zealous supporter of their church. This last party began its intrigues even before the death of Sigismund Augustus, and it found an able leader in the celebrated papal diplomatist, cardinal Commendoni, who was at that time in Poland, where he had arrived in order to embroil that country in a war with the Turks. Commendoni wished to establish on the throne of Poland the archduke Ernest, son of the emperor Maximilian the Second; and for that purpose he induced Nicholas, prince Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, and John Chodkiewicz, two powerful Lithuanian grandees, who had both abandoned the Protestant religion, and become zealous Romanists, to make a secret convention. The plan by which their views were to be carried into effect, and which had been

Conspiracy to secure the vacant throne to the archduke Ernest, organized by Commendoni.

designed by Commendoni, was of a most dangerous nature, and would soon have involved the country in a religious and civil war. According to that scheme, the archduke was to be elected previously grand duke of Lithuania, after which he was to levy an army of 24,000 men, in order, if necessary, to compel the senate of Poland to imitate the example of Lithuania. Radziwill and Chodkiewicz meditated, at the same time, a project of dissolving altogether the connexion between Lithuania and Poland; but Commendoni, afraid of weakening by such a dismemberment a power which he was anxious to arm against the Turks, disapproved of that treasonable scheme; and the above-mentioned grandees contented themselves by demanding the most ample guarantees for all the ancient privileges of Lithuania: as for instance, that no dignity or charge whatever should be given, except to the natives of that country; and that those provinces which were ceded to Poland by the act of the union of 1569, should be restored to Lithuania. Commendoni did not forget, on the occasion of league, or rather conspiracy, to insert an article in favour of his church, stipulating that the monarch should give up his right of nominating bishops, and restore it to the chapters.*

* The details of that treaty, which was concluded in the depth of a forest between the two above-mentioned noblemen

Having united the Romanist party, Commendoni sought to weaken and to divide that of the Protestants, whose leader was John Firley, palatine of Cracow, and grand marshal of Poland. He was the head of the followers of the Helvetian church, and as grand marshal, first officer of the state during the interregnum. His high station, and the popularity which he enjoyed, rendered him exceedingly influential, so that he was supposed by many to aim at the crown of his country, and not without a great chance of success. Personal enmity, and perhaps even more, the fear of seeing the ultimate triumph of the Helvetian or reformed church in Poland by the election of Firley, induced the powerful family of Zborowski, who professed Lutheranism, to oppose him; and the same religious jealousy induced the Gorkas, another powerful Lutheran family, to join the Zborowskis against Firley. Commendoni took advantage of that unfortunate division amongst the Protestants, and increased it by means of Andreas Zborowski, one of the brothers who had remained a Romanist, and who was entirely devoted to the cardinal, whose intrigues were so successful, that the Zborowskis, excited by their jealousy against Firley, aban-

Commendoni
succeeds in
dividing the
Protestants.

and Commendoni, have been described by his secretary and biographer Gratiani, who was present at that meeting. Vide *Vie du Cardinal Commendoni*, par Gratiani, livre iv. chap. iii.

done the Protestant interest, and declared for a Roman Catholic candidate to the throne. Commendoni informed the emperor of the success of his intrigues, and engaged him to furnish money to Albert Laski,* palatine of Sieradz, who was entirely devoted to the cardinal, in order to enable him to levy some troops. At the same time the emperor was to send some detachments of cavalry to the frontiers of Poland, as well as his son, the archduke Ernest, who was to be placed on the throne of that country. He requested him chiefly to inform Chodkiewicz and Radziwill of these measures, because, as he said, if the archduke is elected grand duke of Lithuania, whilst Laski declares for him with a large party; and the imperial troops appear at the same time on the frontiers, the archduke will be in possession of the throne of Poland, before his competitors will even have time to oppose him; and he will, moreover, have the advantage of receiving the crown from the Romanist party, without subscribing to any condition restricting his authority, and in spite of all the efforts of the Protestants.

This treasonable scheme, devised by cardinal Commendoni against the civil and religious liberties of Poland, and which would have involved that country in all the horrors of a domestic war, without securing its throne to the archduke,

The conspiracy is not put into execution, the emperor refusing to countenance it.

* Vide vol. i. p. 244, note.

failed through the prudence and moderation of the emperor Maximilian the Second. Although he desired to place his son on the throne of Poland, he clearly saw the impossibility of obtaining that object by violence and treason, and preferred to seek it by means of negotiation.

Coligny conceives the project of placing a French prince on the throne of Poland. His motives.

The momentary influence which Coligny and the Protestant party enjoyed at the French court after the pacification of St. Germain, 1570, produced a most decisive effect on its foreign relations, and particularly on those with Poland. Coligny and the Protestants meditated a gigantic scheme of political and religious combination, the object of which was to humble Romanism, and its chief support, the court of Spain. His intention was to combine the scattered elements of the Reformation, and to unite the divided Protestants into one centre, in order to give a uniform tendency and action to their cause, which would have insured its final triumph over all Europe.* Coligny saw the importance of Poland in such a combination, and he thought that the Protestant cause having once prevailed in France and Poland, these two countries, united by a political and religious alliance, would have speedily overturned the domination of Romanism, and the house of Austria. Coligny ad-

* Vide Capefigue's *Histoire de la Reforme*, &c. vol. iii. chap. 36 and 47.

vised, therefore, to make every effort, in order to place the French prince Henry of Valois, duke of Anjou, on the throne of Poland; and Catherine de Medicis, who appeared at that time to favour the Protestants, eagerly seized on that project for the aggrandizement of her son. This plan was conceived during the life-time of Sigismund Augustus; and Balagny, a natural son of Montluc, bishop of Valence, was sent to Poland as an ambassador, under the pretext of demanding the hand of the princess Anna, sister to Sigismund Augustus, for the duke of Anjou, but, in fact, to collect information as to the real state of the country, and the principal parties prevailing there. Balagny arrived with a splendid retinue in Poland, in the month of May 1572. However, as his commission was rather to gather information than to act, he did not establish any French party, with the exception of the family of Dembinski, who promised to support the French prince.

Balagny's embassy to Poland.

A singular circumstance particularly served to promote the interest of the French prince in that country. A Polish dwarf, named Krassowski, who was the son of a gentleman, having received a good education, and being endowed with great intellect, went in his youth to France, where by his agreeable manners and cleverness, he became a great favourite of the royal family, and lived on terms of intimacy with the most eminent persons of the country. He amassed considerable

The dwarf Krassowski.

riches; and after having spent many years in France, he revisited his own country during the life-time of Sigismund Augustus. His powers of conversation, and his extensive information about the country where he had spent so much time, rendered him a welcome guest in the houses of the first noblemen of his native land, to whom he constantly related all the details of the French court, and of the religious and political troubles by which France was at that time agitated. He particularly extolled on every occasion the eminent qualities of the duke of Anjou, to whom, it is probable, he was under some particular obligations. He succeeded in establishing for the prince such a reputation, that some nobles, and principally Andreas Zborowski, dispatched after the death of Sigismund Augustus this same dwarf Krassowski, with a request to the duke of Anjou to become a candidate for the vacant throne of Poland. Such is the account of Commendoni's biographer about this extraordinary personage. It is, however, much more probable, as some others maintain, that Krassowski was dispatched on purpose to further the views of the French court; and it is known, that he was afterwards actively engaged as an agent of Catherine de Medicis.*

* Vide la Vie de Commendoni, livre iv. ch. viii. p. 553. Gratiani having been himself at that time in Poland, probably

The first active contest which took place between the Protestant and Romanist party, after the demise of Sigismund Augustus, was about the person who was to be intrusted with the supreme authority during the interregnum. According to the constitution it devolved on the primate of the realm, and his claims on that occasion were supported by the inhabitants of the province of Grand Poland, not only the Roman Catholics, but the Lutherans also; whilst the inhabitants of Little Poland, where the influence of the Reformed religion was paramount, wished to see their leader, Firley, invested with that authority, in his quality of grand marshal of the crown. In Lithuania, where a strong party wished to elect the czar of Muscovy, they kept aloof from the contest between the two provinces, although the majority of its inhabitants being composed of anti-Romanists, inclined towards Firley, who convoked the nobles of Little Poland at Cracow immediately after the death of the king. This assembly adopted several regulations for maintaining the peace of the country during the interregnum, and for the protection of the rights and liberties of Protestants, as well as Roman Catholics. The same assembly was particularly jealous of Commendoni, who remained in

State of parties.

Assembly of Cracow.

knew Krassowski personally. Capefigue, in his *Histoire de la Reforme*, chap. 49, quotes letters addressed by Krassowski to queen Catherine de Medicis.

the vicinity of Cracow, in order to promote by his intrigues the interests of Rome. They sent a deputation to him requesting him to leave the country, as his legation was terminated by the demise of the monarch, and represented that he ought to do it for the sake of his own security ; but Commendoni evaded the demand, under pretence that they had no legal right to require his leaving the country : he retired to a convent near Sieradz, whence he continued to direct the Roman Catholic party.

Assemblies of
Knyszyn, Lo-
wicz, Sroda,
and Kaski.

The same assembly fixed another meeting at Knyszyn, the place where the king died, which some Lithuanian noblemen were expected to join. This assembly, which took place on the 24th of August, and which was numerously attended, chiefly by Protestants, resolved, in order to prevent foreign intrigues, to fix the election of the new sovereign on the 13th October 1572, and chose for the place of that important transaction the plains of Bystrzyca, in the vicinity of Lublin. This place had the advantage of being central, and would have afforded great facilities for the populations of Little Poland, Red Russia, and Lithuania, to take part in the election ; but as the influential part of those populations, being chiefly composed of anti-Romanists, would have ensured the throne to a candidate belonging to the same party, it was strongly opposed by the Roman Catholic clergy and their adherents, with the ex-

ception of Krasinski, bishop of Cracow, who supported Firley; the Lutherans of Grand Poland supported the Roman Catholics on that occasion.

This party had assembled in July at Lowicz, in order to maintain the rights of the primate, and convoked another meeting for the same purpose at Sroda. This last assembly acted with great moderation, and decided to convoke at Kaski, for the 25th October, a general assembly of the states of Poland; which having met at the appointed time, left to the primate the supreme dignity during the interregnum, whilst the affairs were to be conducted in his and the senate's name by the grand marshal. It adopted also several regulations for the maintenance of public peace, and equal protection to the citizens of every religious persuasion; and it resolved, that the Diet of Convocation should assemble at Warsaw on the 6th January, 1573.*

The first and the most important object of that Diet was, to settle in a peaceful manner the differences between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. The clergy, who saw the impossibility of crushing their opponents, and even the danger to which they were themselves ex-

Confederation of the 6th January 1573, which insures the perfect equality of all Christian confessions in Poland.

* The Diet of Convocation was that which assembled after the demise of the monarch, in order to fix the time and place of the election, to convoke the voters, and to adopt the necessary measures for the maintenance of the internal peace, as well as the external safety of the country.

posed, were the first to propose such a measure. Karnkowski, bishop of Cujavia, composed the articles, in which he insured a perfect equality of rights and privileges to all the Christian professions in Poland. The same act guaranteed the dignities, rights, and privileges of the Roman Catholic bishops; but abolished the obligation of the church patrons to bestow the benefices in their gift exclusively to Roman Catholic clergymen. This wise act was, however, disgraced by an article which insured to the landowners a perfect authority over their subjects, even in matters of religion.*

This remarkable transaction gave to the Protestants a legal existence in Poland, because the former enactments, although they gave them a complete freedom, did not grant them that perfect equality with the Roman Catholic church which they now acquired; but the article which confirmed and extended the power of the landowners over the peasants, may be considered

* The act of confederation of 1573, which guaranteed complete religious liberty to all the citizens of Poland, was evidently modelled on the celebrated religious peace of Augsburg of 1555, by which full religious liberty was secured to the Protestants of Germany. The above-mentioned act does not use the expressions of *securitas*, *tolerantia*, or *protectio*, but only *pax dissidentium*, establishing a perfect equality amongst all the religious professions. Heydenstein, speaking of the same act, says: *Similem sanctionem qua in Germaniâ pax religionis sancita esset, constituere.* Lib. i. p. 21.

as a most deplorable event in the Polish history. It was undoubtedly brought about by the troubles which the blind zeal of some reformers had excited in Germany, and the report of which was industriously circulated and magnified by the Romanist party. Its effect was particularly injurious to the progress of the Reformation, as it estranged from it the inferior classes of society, and prevented it from taking a deep root in the national mind.

Although the confederation was framed by the clergy themselves, the instigations of Commendoni produced a great change in their opinions, and the bishops protested against that measure, and refused to sign it, with the exception of Francis Krasinski, bishop of Cracow, and vice-chancellor of Poland, who preferring the interests of his own country to those of Rome, signed the act of the confederation. He was bitterly censured by Rome for his patriotism, and Commendoni considered him as of suspicious orthodoxy, and entirely devoted to Firley.*

* This act, which became a fundamental law of Poland, excited the strongest animadversions on the part of the Romanist clergy. Commendoni's biographer calls it an impious act. Cardinal Hosius published two works against the provisions of this confederation, which he addressed to the newly elected sovereign, Henry of Valois. The celebrated Jesuit Skarga wrote also against it, as well as several other Romanist writers. It was, on the other hand, zealously defended by many Protestant authors, but particularly by Erasmus Gliczner. It

The same Diet fixed the election of the monarch for the 7th April at Kamien, in the vicinity of Warsaw. The choice of the place, which was made according to the advice of Commendoni, was a great advantage obtained by the Romanists; because the inhabitants of Mazovia, wherein Warsaw is situated, were zealous Romanists, and the great number of the small nobles whom that province contained, and who were blindly devoted to the interests of the clergy, could easily turn the balance in their favour.

Candidates to
the throne.

The time before the election was busily employed by the parties in promoting the interests of their candidates. The foreign ambassadors who had arrived in order to recommend their princes for the vacant throne, remained in a kind of honourable custody, and could not act openly, although they continued to carry on their intrigues in secret. Five principal candidates to the throne presented themselves: the grand duke of Muscovy; the king of Sweden; Ernest, archduke of Austria; Henry of Valois, duke of Anjou; and a Piast, or national king.

was called confederation, and not constitution (the name which was given to the enactments of an ordinary Diet), because it was passed by a confederated Diet, where the senate and the nuncios voted together, and where the affairs were decided by the majority of votes, and not by the unanimity which was required in an ordinary Diet.

Sigismund Augustus, during his life-time, frequently advised the Poles to choose for his successor a northern prince, by which, as it is supposed, he meant the grand duke of Muscovy. This opinion had many partisans amongst the Lithuanians, who, during the interregnum, began a negotiation on that subject with Ivan Vassilevich, czar of Muscovy. But the arrogance of that monarch, his coarse manners, and his unparalleled cruelty, left him no hope of success, notwithstanding the great political advantages which Poland might have derived from such an election. The archduke's party, conducted by Commendoni, was very powerful, and comprehended almost all Lithuania, and a considerable part of Grand Poland. The duke of Prussia, who had for some time the project of seeking the throne of Poland for himself, promised to support the archduke. Yet the Austrian party rapidly lost ground by the procrastination of the emperor, as well as by many errors committed by his agents; and the jealousy against the influence of the house of Habsburg, whose dominion proved so injurious to the liberties of Bohemia and Hungary,* grew so strong, as to

* Several Bohemian gentlemen of the suite of the imperial ambassadors, who became, from the community of their origin and language, very intimate with the Poles, expressed to them, that the ancient grandeur of their country, as well as their liberties and privileges, were lost under the domination of the
house

destroy all the views of the archduke to the throne of Poland; and Commendoni, perceiving that his case was hopeless, transferred his influence to the French party.

The French court induces the Protestants of Germany to recommend to their brethren in Poland, to support the election of the French king.

The policy of France was conducted on that occasion with admirable skill. As the great object of ensuring the throne of Poland to a French prince, was to crush the overgrown power of Austria and Spain, by raising the Protestant cause in Europe; the French court sent Schomberg to Germany before the demise of Sigismund Augustus, in order to induce the Protestant princes of that country to conclude an alliance with France, as well as to support its views in Poland.

Embassy of Montluc,

When the ground was prepared in that manner by Balagny in Poland, and by Schomberg in Germany, Montluc, bishop of Valence, was chosen as ambassador to Poland, and furnished with ample instructions by Coligny.* Circum-

house of Austria; and advised them that, if they valued their liberty, they should not entrust the throne of their country to that family. Vie de Commendoni, livre iv. chap. 6.

* The bishop was instructed to promise the restoration of Wallachia and Moldavia, an alliance with France, and in case of war, assistance in money and men, peace with Turkey, and confirmation of all the liberties of the nation. The new monarch was to draw from France a revenue of 400,000 dollars. The bishop was to gain over the palatines by such means as would be most agreeable to each of them, and he had a *carte blanche* to promise

stances were extremely favourable to the election of the duke of Anjou. He was not suspected by the Roman Catholics, having distinguished himself against the Protestants at the battle of Jarnac; whilst the Protestant party considered the influence of Coligny, and the state of the Protestants of France, whose rights were at that time secured by an equitable treaty, as a sufficient guarantee of their own rights. The choice of the ambassador produced also a favourable impression; because Montluc, although a Roman Catholic bishop, was openly inclined to the doctrines of the Reformation,* so that Popelinnièrre wrote the greatest praises to him. This circumstance could not remain unknown to the Protestants of Poland, whose churches maintained a constant intercourse with the reformed congregations of Switzerland and France.

Montluc left Paris in August, 1572; but he had not yet passed the frontiers of France, when the massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated. Coligny was one of the victims of that abominable event, which sacrificed a policy founded on national interests to the influence of Rome

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and its effects on Poland.

promise any sums of money and dignities to those who would support him.”—Manuscript of Fontanier, in the library Richelieu in Paris.

* “Le prélat n’était Catholique que par son titre; il était déterminé en faveur des opinions nouvelles.”—Manuscript of Fontanier.

and Madrid. Montluc, on receiving the news of that execrable act, saw at once its injurious effect on the French interest abroad, and suspended his journey. His life was in great danger, because the duke of Guise commissioned his secretary Macere to murder him, and to seize the large sums of money with which he was entrusted. Catherine de Medicis perceived, however, that instead of the difficulties of her government in France diminishing, they were rather increased by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and she saw the necessity of following the same course of foreign policy which had been adopted previous to that deplorable event. Montluc received orders to continue his journey; whilst his letter of instructions, composed by Coligny, remained unaltered, which is the most splendid evidence of the patriotic views of that great man.

The news of the events of St. Bartholomew's day rapidly spread over all Europe, and filled the Protestants of Germany and Poland with horror. Schomberg was, at the same time, instructed by his court to maintain the Protestant princes of Germany in the French interest, and to soften as much as possible the impression produced by the above-mentioned news, by exonerating the monarch from a participation in that abominable crime.*

* The king wrote to Schomberg, that he was "fort éloigné de la cruauté et de l'inhumanité. Une grande diversité des lettres

whilst Balagny tried in Poland to represent the massacre of Paris as being produced entirely by political causes, and without any religious motive. He assured them also, in a letter addressed to the senate, that although Henry was an orthodox Catholic, he would not infringe on the liberties of the Protestants.*

Such a task seemed, however, to be impossible; and the object of Montluc's embassy presented apparently no hope of success. He entered Poland on the 12th November 1572, and found the state of parties there entirely changed. The Romanist party, despairing of the success of the archduke of Austria, had become since the news of the massacre zealous partisans of the duke of Anjou, whom they considered as the exterminator of heresy; whilst the Protestants, terrified by the murder of their brethren in France, abandoned the interests of that country, the policy of which, since the death of Coligny, they could not but consider as hostile to the Protestant cause. Even many Roman Catholics were indignant at the atrocities com-

lettres qu'ont été envoyées d'Allemagne en Pologne, contenant plusieurs choses diffamatoires contre mon frère pour empêcher son election, sont malicieusement controuvées." He wanted the German Protestant princes to write to the Polish Protestants.—Manuscript of the library Richelieu—Sismonde, *Hist. des Français*.

* "Conserver les uns et les autres dans toute sureté."—Popelinnière, l. 30:

mitted in France, the details of which were rapidly spreading all over the country by means of several publications on that subject,* and by several Poles who were present at those scenes, as well as French Protestants who had escaped from them. The most active promoter of hatred against France was colonel Krokowski, a Polish gentleman, who had commanded, during the religious wars of France, under Condé and Coligny, a body of cavalry composed of Polish Protestants, who had left their country to assist their brethren in France.† Such were the difficulties which Montluc had to overcome, in order to obtain the throne of Poland for the duke of Anjou. He was strongly supported by his government, and furnished, as we have already said, with the most extensive powers. The duke

* There appeared at Cracow a pamphlet, entitled : "*Vera et brevis descriptio tumultus postremi Gallici Lutetiani in quo occidit Admirallius cum aliis non paucis ab origine sine cujusdam injuria facta.*"—Cracow in officina Scharffenberg, anno 1573. There were also circulated pictures of that massacre, where the king, Charles the Ninth, and the duke of Anjou, were represented animating the murderers. Vide Choisin, p. 41. The same author says, that all the ladies of Poland shed tears, in speaking of that event, with such abundance as if they had been present there.

† Choisin, p. 78.—Krokowski had commanded a body of cavalry known in the religious wars of France under the name of Reitres, and chiefly composed of Germans. Choisin relates that the same Krokowski had pecuniary claims on France.

of Anjou himself solemnly disclaimed, in a letter addressed to the Polish states, his participation in the atrocities of Paris.* Montluc advised the French government to proclaim liberty of conscience in France, and to desist from every severe measure. His advice was partly followed, and the affairs of the French Protestants took a more favourable turn for the sake of their brethren in Poland.

Montluc, although living retired, maintained a most active correspondence, in order to allay the general irritation against his court, boldly denying the most authentic information about the events of Paris. He scattered money with the greatest profusion, promising every thing, and giving every guarantee that was required. Thus he accomplished what appeared to be impossible, and realized the great scheme traced by Coligny.

Montluc succeeds, in spite of all difficulties, in attaining his object.

Many circumstances acted in favour of Montluc. The Protestant party, headed by Firley, and wishing to have a Protestant king, had no candidate who could present himself with hope of success. The king of Sweden, brother-in-law of the late monarch, hesitated to take any decisive step; and the duke of Prussia, although he had shewn at the beginning a strong resolution to compete for the vacant throne, soon abandoned his project. A considerable party, which Thuanus

Circumstances which favoured Montluc's exertions.

* Vide Heydenstein, l. 1.

calls the best part of the nation, wished to elect a native of the country.* The choice of such a candidate was chiefly supported by Mielecki, palatine of Podolia, a Protestant grandee, and Tomicki, castellan of Gnezno, also a Protestant, who proposed Stanislaw Szafraniecz, castellan of Biecz, a nobleman belonging to the same communion, and exceedingly popular amongst the lower nobility, as a candidate to the throne. But Szafraniecz had not sufficient resolution for entering into such a contest, which would have been opposed by the great families of Poland, jealous of the lower nobility, by which Szafraniecz, although belonging himself to the first families of the country, would have been elevated. He would also have met with the greatest opposition from the Roman clergy, who would have done their utmost in order to prevent the accession of a Protestant, by which the cause of the Reformation would have triumphed in Poland.† Zamoyski,

* "*De Piasto creando etsi major et melior pars sentiebatur.*"
—Thuanus, lvi. liber 8.

† Gratiani gives unwillingly the most splendid testimony to the patriotic sentiments which the Polish Protestants manifested on that occasion. "The heretics," said he, "represented in all the assemblies that there were in the country lords of an illustrious birth, who did not cede to any foreign prince, and that they were much better acquainted with the laws of the country than the others. That it was far better to elect a monarch educated in the national manners, who would love his kingdom as his own country, and his subjects as his fellow-

who was much adverse to the election of a native of the country, prevented it most effectually by introducing a condition, that those who wished to be elected to the throne, should quit the place of the Diet like other candidates. On this account nobody dared openly to proclaim his pretensions to the throne.

The Diet of election opened on the 5th April, 1573. A contemporary writer, who was present at that scene, describes it as more resembling the camp of an army than a civil assembly. All

Warlike appearance of the Diet.

fellow-citizens, than a foreign prince who would possess Poland as a kingdom got by chance. That their ancestors preferred to elect a Pole of a low condition, named Piast, rather than submit to a foreigner. That they had no occasion to repent of that election, and that the state prospered under Piast's descendants during many centuries. That it was a shame to have recourse to other nations, who were neither more valiant nor wiser than themselves, and to prefer unknown and distant princes, who could be appreciated only by the accounts of their partisans, or by vague and uncertain reports, to men of virtue tried in times of war and peace. That it was to declare in the face of all the nations, that there was not a single Pole capable of reigning. That it was very wrong to abandon themselves to the rule of a king who was ignorant of the laws, customs, and the language of the country. That they could not obey a sovereign whose commands they should not understand, and that he would be unable to maintain laws which he did not know; and that, in such a case, it would become necessary to forget those laws and ordinances which had rendered the realm flourishing, in order to learn new laws and customs, as well as foreign manners."—*Vie de Comémond, par Gratianni, livre vi. chap. 8.*

Fruitless attempts of the Protestants to intrust the election of the king to a regular Diet.

parties being fully armed, and several of them provided with artillery: yet what chiefly excited the admiration of the foreigners was, that notwithstanding that hostile array and the excited state of parties, not a single sword was drawn, and not a single drop of blood was spilt.* The Protestant party, comprising the majority of the great families, proposed that the election of the monarch should be made by a Diet com-

* "There were already at Warsaw many armed gentlemen and many lords, accompanied by a great number of their friends or vassals, who had arrived from all parts of the kingdom. The plain, where they had pitched their tents, and where the Diet was to take place, had all the appearance of a camp. They were seen walking about with long swords at their sides, and sometimes they marched in troops armed with pikes, muskets, arrows, or javelins. Some of them, besides the armed men whom they brought for their guard, had even cannons, and were as if entrenched in their quarters. One might have said that they were going to a battle rather than to a Diet, and that it was an array of war and not a council of state, and that they were assembled rather to conquer a foreign kingdom than to dispose of their own. At least, it was possible to suppose, on seeing them, that this affair would be decided rather by force and by arms, than by deliberation and votes.

"But what appeared to me the most extraordinary was, that amongst so many companies of armed men, and with such impunity in a time when neither laws nor magistrates were acknowledged, neither a single murder was committed, nor a sword drawn; and that these great differences where the matter was to give or to refuse a kingdom, produced nothing but a few words; so much is this nation averse to spill its blood in civil contests."—Vie de Commendoni, par Gratiani, l. iv. chap. 10.

posed in the usual way of the senate and the nuncios, trusting with good reason to their influence amongst the higher and more enlightened classes of society; but this salutary advice was defeated chiefly by the instrumentality of Zamoyski, who insisted on the right of each noble to give his vote personally on that occasion. Zamoyski, whose eminent services to his country had justly entitled him to the name of the Great, committed on that occasion a most fatal error by throwing the most important transaction of the state into the hands of a democratic body, which, although often animated by pure motives, could be easily led astray by any artful and designing leader. This measure, which may be considered as one of the principal causes of the decline of Poland, acted likewise in the most injurious manner on the Protestant cause, as the majority of the elective assembly, composed of the small nobles of Mazovia, who were blindly devoted to the interests of Rome, decided the election of the monarch. Thus the most important transaction of the state was settled, not by the mature deliberations of the best and most enlightened part of the nation, but by the excited passions of a senseless nobiliary mob.*

The details of the election of Henry of Valois to the throne of Poland belong to the political

* Vide Heydenstein.

history of that country, and we will content ourselves with mentioning, that Commendoni having arrived at Warsaw, represented in a speech to the senate, that none but a Roman Catholic should be elected. He was severely rebuked by Zborowski, palatine of Sandomir, for intermeddling in the internal affairs of the country, which he had no right to do; and he was obliged, notwithstanding all his efforts to remain at Warsaw, to leave that place, with the other foreign ambassadors, at the time of the election. The Protestants, perceiving their inability to oppose the election of the duke of Anjou, resolved to exact from the new monarch the most ample securities for their rights and interests. The influence of Firley, the chief leader of that party, prescribed conditions favourable, not only to the Protestants in Poland, but likewise to their brethren in France, and which the French ambassadors, Montluc and Lansac, were obliged to sign, or to see the election of the duke of Anjou annihilated.*

By this condition, signed at Plock on the 4th May 1573, the king of France was to grant a complete amnesty to the Protestants of that country, as well as perfect liberty of religious exercise. All those who wished to leave the

* *Vide* Popelinnière; Capefigue's *Histoire de la Reforme*; Thuanus:

country were at liberty to sell their properties, or to receive their incomes, provided they did not retire into the dominions of the enemies of France, whilst those who had emigrated could return to their homes. All proceedings against persons accused of the conspiracy of Paris were to be cancelled. Those who had been condemned, were to be restored to honour and property, and a compensation was to be given to the children of those who had been murdered. Every Protestant who was condemned to exile, or obliged to fly, was to be restored to his properties, dignities, &c. The king was to assign in every province, towns where the Protestants might freely exercise their religion, &c.

These conditions which the Polish Protestants, being only a part of the nation, were so anxious to secure to their brethren of France, may give an idea of the advantages which the Protestant cause in general would have derived from the final establishment of the Reformation in Poland. We think that it is scarcely possible to entertain a doubt, considering the great political importance of Poland at that time, and the zeal which the Polish Protestants evinced on every occasion to support their brethren abroad, that the triumph of the Protestant cause in Poland would have insured its triumph over all Europe.

After having secured the liberties of their brethren in France, the Protestants of Poland

no longer opposed the election of the duke of Anjou. But when he was proclaimed on the 9th May by the archbishop and the Roman Catholic party, without any condition respecting the religious and many political liberties of the country, the Protestant party, headed by Firley, retired to Grochow,* where having mustered a considerable armed force, with some artillery, they proclaimed their opposition to the election of the new monarch, until the constitutional liberties of the country should be secured. After some negotiation, the Romanist party were obliged to accede to the demands of the Protestants, who agreed to the election, on condition that the religious liberties of all Christian confessions proclaimed by the confederation of the 6th January, should be fully guaranteed; that the monarch should have no right to nominate his successor, or undertake any important political measure, without the assent of the states. It was stipulated also, at the same time, that should the monarch break his promises, he would by such act forfeit his right to the throne.

An embassy composed of twelve noblemen, amongst whom there were several Protestants,

* Vide Bielski and Heydenstein.—Grochow is a village on the right bank of the Vistula, about two English miles from Warsaw. It became celebrated by a murderous battle which took place there, between the Russians and the Poles, on the 25th February 1831.

went to Paris in order to announce to the duke of Anjou his elevation to the throne of Poland. Thuanus describes the universal admiration which they excited in Paris by the splendour of their retinues, and even more by their learning and accomplishments.*

Their arrival produced a favourable effect on the affairs of the French Protestants, as Montluc strongly recommended his court to grant them the liberties which he had promised for them to the Polish Protestants. The siege of Sancerre was discontinued, and the Protestants of that town received more tolerable conditions. Although it was difficult to the court, on account of the predominance of the Romanist party in France, to grant to the Protestants the favourable terms which had been promised by Montluc, it made to them, by the edict of July 1573, several important concessions. Thus all accusations and libels against them were prohibited, the towns of

* "There was not a single one amongst them who did not speak Latin; many knew the German and the Italian languages, and some of them spoke our own tongue with such purity, that they might be taken for men educated on the banks of the Seine and the Loire, rather than for inhabitants of a country watered by the Vistula and the Dnieper. They have quite shamed our courtiers, who are not only ignorant themselves, but are moreover declared enemies of every thing called knowledge. They could never answer any question addressed to them by these foreigners, otherwise than by a sign, or by blushing with confusion." — Thuanus, lib. lvi.

Montauban, Rochelle, and Nismes, had the free exercise of Protestant religion, which could be professed privately everywhere, except within two leagues of Paris, and the lives and properties of the Protestants were declared inviolable. Notwithstanding these concessions, the Protestant members of the embassy, although abandoned, and even opposed by their Romanist companions, insisted on the complete fulfilment of the promises given by Montluc; but their demands produced no effect.*

Whilst the embassy was on its journey to

* The Polish delegates were anxious to secure a perfect equality of rights to the Protestants of France. They addressed king Charles the Ninth, on that occasion, in the following manner :—" Avant que nous, principalement qui sont de la religion reformée en Pologne, fussions d'avis de bailler le royaume au frère de votre majesté, nous avons été d'avis à employer tout notre travail à ce que par notre intercession et affection très-grande, plein de piété et de fidélité envers la France, les guerres civiles fussent abolies pour jamais à conditions commodes, et par une paix ferme et stable autant avantageuse pour l'un que pour l'autre. Lequel point, pour cette cause, a été soigneusement traité avec les ambassadeurs de votre majesté. La paix publique, et commune tranquillité, a été conservée parceque nos rois ont donné liberté de conscience à chacun. Nous avons couché par articles, quelques moyens commodes de pacification, lesquels ont été jurés par paroles expresses au nom et en la foi de votre majesté. Voyant avec notre grand regret, que les promesses et articles qu'on nous a jurés n'ont été accordés à ceux de la religion, &c."—Popelinnièr, Histoire de la France.

France, the Romanist party tried by its intrigues to destroy the effect of the constitutional securities given to the religious liberties of the country. Hosius argued that the confederation of the 6th January was a criminal conspiracy against God, and therefore should be abolished by the king; and he zealously recommended to the archbishop of Gnezno, to Albert Laski, and to the notorious cardinal of Lotaringia, to prevent the newly elected monarch from confirming by his oath the religious liberties of Poland. But when Henry had taken that oath, he openly recommended to him perjury, maintaining that an oath given to heretics may be broken even without an absolution.*

William Ruzeus, confessor of Henry, was

* Hosius despatched his confidant, and afterwards his biographer Rescius to the king, to whom he addressed, in a letter dated October 19, 1573, amongst others: "That he ought not to follow the example of Herod, but rather that of David, who to his greatest praise kept not what he had thoughtlessly sworn. It mattered not in the present case about a single Nabal, but about thousands of souls who will be delivered into the power of the devil. As the king had sinned with Peter, so ought he to atone with him for his sin, amend his error, and reflect that the oath was not a bond of iniquity, and that there was no necessity for him to be absolved from his oath, because according to every law, all that he had inconsiderately done was neither binding, nor had any value, &c. &c."—Friesen Beyträge, &c. vol. ii. page 43.

commissioned to explain to the monarch the duty of breaking his pledges given to the nation, and guaranteed by the sanctity of an oath.* The clergy endeavoured to spread an opinion, that the above-mentioned confederation authorized every crime and blasphemy, and would produce a general confusion and revolts similar to those of the peasants in Westphalia. The nobles of the palatinate of Plock, which formed a part of the strictly Romanist Mazovia, were so excited by the representations of the clergy, that they sent a delegate to Paris with a petition to the new monarch, not to confirm the religious liberty guaranteed by the confederation of the 6th January 1573. Solikowski, a learned and zealous Romanist prelate, addressed to Henry more dangerous advice than that of Hosius. He said that, submitting to the necessity, he ought to promise and swear every thing that was demanded, in order to prevent a civil and religious war; but, that once possessed of the throne, he will have every means to crush heresy even without violence.

The efforts of the Romanists to prevent the new monarch from confirming by his oath the religious liberties of the country proved, however, abortive. The delegate of the palatinate of Plock did not obtain an audience of the king,

* Vide *Vita Hosii*, autore Rescio.—*Epistolæ Hosii*, 198.

and several Roman Catholic members of the embassy insisted with the Protestants on the strict fulfilment of the conditions on which Henry was elected to the throne of Poland. Such were Zamoyski and Herbut, whilst the Protestant members, Gorka, Zborowski, Tomicki, and Prince Prunski, were determined to prevent the accession of the monarch rather than to give up the stipulated conditions. The bishop Konarski presented a declaration from the archbishop against the above-mentioned conditions, which, however, being made without the assent of the senate, was considered as a private act of the archbishop, and consequently without any legal validity. Konarski was obliged to give way to the unanimous opinion of the embassy, but reserved to himself the power of presenting the above-mentioned declaration to the king in person, which he did at the solemn presentation of the diploma of election to Henry, on the 10th September, at the church of Notre Dame.

This act produced some confusion, as Zborowski interrupted the solemnity with the following words addressed to Montluc: "Had you not accepted in the name of the duke the conditions of religious liberty, our opposition would have prevented this duke from being elected our monarch." Henry feigned to be astonished, and as if he did not understand the subject of dis-

cussion ; but Zborowski addressed him, saying : “ I repeat, sire, that if your ambassadors had not accepted the conditions of liberty to the contending religious persuasions, our opposition would have prevented you from being elected king ; and that if you do not confirm those conditions, you will not be king.” After this, the members of the embassy surrounded the monarch, and Herburt read to him the formula of the oath prescribed by the national representatives, which Henry repeated without any opposition. The bishop Karnkowski, who had stood aside, approached the king after he had sworn, and protested that the liberty of religious professions was not to injure the authority of the church of Rome, and the king gave him a written testimony of that protestation.

Henry left Paris in September, but arrived in Poland only on the 25th January 1574. He travelled on purpose very slowly, expecting the demise of his brother Charles the Ninth, who was in a very bad state of health, and whom he was to succeed on the throne of France.

Although he had confirmed by his oath the religious liberties of Poland, the fears of the Protestant party were not entirely allayed ; and they resolved jealously to watch their antagonists at the Diet of the coronation, where they had a majority. These fears were not without foundation ; and Gratiani, who left Cracow with the

instructions of the archbishop and several Romanist leaders, met the new sovereign in Saxony, where he represented to him that he had the right of governing Poland as an absolute monarch, and advised him in what manner he might easily crush the religious as well as the political liberties of the country, which he had sworn in the most solemn manner to preserve.*

* Let us hear the advice of Gratiani to Henry in his own words: "I assured him that the king of Poland was absolute master of the life and death of all his subjects. That all appeals were made to him from the magistrates of towns and provinces. That he was the only interpreter of the laws as well as of the constitution. That the function of the senate was to give him advice, but not to prescribe anything to him. That the king was to listen to their opinions, but to decide himself. That the edicts were proposed in the senate, but made in his cabinet. That he received the advice of others, but that he himself gave orders. That, finally, the senate was the witness, but not the arbiter of the actions of the king, to whom nothing was prohibited, except injustice and violence.

"That, besides, it was impossible to obtain either any title of honour or pre-eminence, or even considerable wealth, except through the favour and liberality of the king. That there was no other dignity than that of senator, and that it was commonly bestowed on those who had been entrusted with some government or financial administration, and that this honour was not hereditary, but distributed by the king as favours or rewards. That the monarch was thus the master of the honour, fortunes, and lives of his subjects, who could not expect any dignity except from his favour. That these were the means for moving, stopping, or regulating the affairs of the state according to his will. That the king had the entire disposition

The arguments of Hosius, that the oath of the monarch was not binding, became known as well as his letter to the archbishop and the bishops

disposition of the finances, and that he gave no account of them to the senate, and that the treasurers addressed themselves only to the monarch, who created treasurers as well as senators. That it was necessary to choose senators and magistrates with great precaution. That he (king Henry) would find much fidelity amongst Catholics; that he ought to give the offices to good men, (i.e. those who abandoning Protestantism had become Romanists,) in order to induce others to deserve the same favours. That certain cunning people advised him absolutely to conciliate the heretics, and to gain them by rewards, but that this advice was neither sure nor faithful, and that it would render his adversaries stronger, and give them means to do harm; that they would suppose that good was done to them from fear and interest, rather than from inclination. That it was a bad thing when nations resolved to wrest favours by force and compulsion, instead of deserving them by submission and obedience. That it was to be feared, that wishing to conciliate his adversaries by civility and favours, he might alienate his friends, who would see with regret the rewards due to their fidelity carried away by others. That he ought to believe no more those who would make him fear the hatred of heretics, when excluded from all public employment. That there was no danger from that quarter, as they were weak, without leaders or forces; but that, on the contrary, the offices being reserved to the Catholics, the heretics would return by degrees to the ancient religion. That if the king once declared that honours and rewards were destined for good men, and not for the seditious and rebels, he would soon crush that pride which the negligence of king Sigismund Augustus, and the corruption of the human mind, had fostered during so long a time. A Frenchman of the suite of the king here interrupted me, saying :

of Poland, recommending them not to subscribe to, but to act against the conditions of the confederation of the 6th January 1573, and in which

saying: 'Do you, then, wish that the king should directly declare war against the heretics? Do you assert that they should be expelled from the court and the country? It would be then necessary to levy arms, and to take the field against them.' 'It is not my plan,' replied I, 'that they should be treated like open enemies. There is no necessity for levying troops or employing force and arms, when the laws and discipline may suffice. I do not wish to expel any body from the court or from the country. I am of opinion, that the king should treat the heretics with civility, and offer them his favour, on condition that they should abandon the new doctrines which cause such great disorders in the state. But if they persist in their obstinacy, it is necessary that they should be humiliated, and that at least they should know that there will be no honours for those who have abandoned the Catholic religion. I do not know of any remedy more humane and easy.'

"After this, Gratiani gave some unobjectionable advice respecting the choice of the bishops; and, after having proposed the plan for crushing the religious as well as the political liberties of the nation, he advised the king to keep up the martial spirit of the nation, and to engage in a war with the czar of Muscovy. The object of this advice was not, however, caused by any motive of public utility, but, as he confessed himself, by the consideration that the nation being engaged in war and military pursuits, would have no leisure for discussing the mysteries of religion, i. e. have no time for intellectual pursuits.

"There was also one thing which ought not to be neglected. It is the custom to send to the general assembly deputies of each palatinate, whom they call territorial or provincial nuncios. They are chosen from amongst the equestrian order, because the low people are looked upon as slaves, and have no share in

he stated, that all that the king had promised at Paris to the anti-Romanists was only a feint; and that, as soon as he should be crowned, he

in the government. Each palatinate nominates one or more of these deputies. Formerly they were sent only in order to receive the ordinances of the senate, and to publish them in their provinces, that all the public edicts should be known and observed in all the parts of the kingdom; but under the reign of Sigismund Augustus they usurped so much authority, that they governed the state absolutely like the ancient tribunes of Rome; who, having been established for the protection of the citizens against tyrants, became tyrants themselves. I informed the king, that those deputies had the insolence to prescribe to the senate what he was to order, and to oppose its ordinances. That it was the source of several disorders, and that it gave to heretics frequent opportunities to make speeches and seditious propositions. That it was important to deprive them of that authority which they had usurped, to repress their violence, and to manage matters so, that Catholics zealous for the service of the sovereign and the state, should be delegated instead of turbulent and seditious people. That for that purpose, it was necessary to gain them over by favours, to admit deputations, and to act in the assemblies where great contests were to be supported; which would have the effect that the state would be better served, and that the most audacious would not take the place of the wisest. That if his majesty would exhort the Catholics to shake off that idleness and languor which kept them from the assemblies, and animate men of honour by rewards and favours, the Catholics would be the strongest; the love of new doctrines would cool down, heresy would fall almost of itself, and everybody would remain in duty and submission."—*Vie de Commendoni, par Gratiani.*

Now, let us compare the statements of Gratiani about the constitution

would abolish all religions contrary to that of Rome.* The bishops openly manifested their intention to change the formula of the Parisian oath,† whilst the legate of the pope instigated the Romanist party by his intrigues to break the stipulations guaranteed by that oath. The Romanist machinations produced their natural effect, and increased the just suspicions of the Protestants

constitution of Poland with the description of it by Thuanus, who gives it in relating the election of the same Henry.

Thuanus says of Poland : “Sic fere ut amplissimum illud imperium regio splendore refulgeat, et regia in eo potestas quæ plerumque ad libidinem et insaniam vergens cum cuncta licent, omnium scelerum et injustitiæ seminarium est, sapientissimis senatorum et nobilitatis animadversionibus intra equitatis terminos contineatur, itaque cum apud alios quicquid Regis placuit, legis habeat vigorem; hic non modo nullam sine senatus consilio et nobilitatis assensu fert legem, sed et legibus regni ipse obtemperare jubetur. Incredibilis tamen est Regis in Polonia majestas ac subditorum erga eum cultus cum expresscripto legum regnare judicatur.”—Lib. lvi.

* “Les Evangéliques (Protestants), qui sont en grand nombre et en grande autorité, étaient merveilleusement effarouchés et en très-grand effroi d’une lettre qu’on disait avoir été écrite à Rome par le cardinal Hosius, par laquelle il mandait à l’archevêque et au clergé de Pologne, que ce que le roi avait promis à Paris n’était qu’une feinte et dissimulation; et qu’aussitôt qu’il serait couronné, il chasserait hors du royaume tout exercice de religion autre que la Romaine.”—Manuscript of Dupuis, in the library of Richelieu at Paris.

† “*Episcopi formam juramenti Parisiensis mutare, quibusdam in rebus vellent.*”—Heydenstein.

to such a height, that many of them intended to prevent the coronation, and to annihilate the election of Henry, which threatened the civil and religious liberties of the nation with danger. All the country was excited by the generally spread opinion, that the king was entirely under the influence of the Romanist clergy, who openly manifested their intention to prevent the king from confirming by his oath at the coronation the rights of the anti-Romanist professions.

The king was apparently unbiassed by either party, but he declared his readiness to swear an oath prescribed unanimously to him by the senate and the chamber of the Nuncios, by which he cast a doubt on the legality of the oath he had taken at Paris, and which was exacted by the majority, but not the unanimity of the national representatives. The influence of the Romanists was becoming more and more evident: and although the hour of the coronation was approaching, there was nothing yet decided about the formula of the oath which was to be taken by the monarch on that occasion. Before the beginning of the solemnity, the grand marshal Firley, Zborowski palatine of Sandomir, Radziwill palatine of Vilna, and some other Protestant leaders, adjourned to the closet of the king, and proposed to him either to omit entirely that part of the oath which related to the religious professions, *i. e.* neither to guarantee the rights

of the Protestants, nor those of the Roman hierarchy, or to confirm what he had sworn at Paris. The king, not daring openly to refuse what he had solemnly promised, tried to elude them by assuring them that he would guarantee the honour and properties of the Protestants; but Firley insisted that the Parisian oath should be repeated without any restriction, and form a part of the general coronation oath. But when the ceremony of the coronation was proceeding, and its final act, the placing of the crown on the head of the monarch, was about to be performed, Firley, seeing that no oath to the Protestants was taken, interrupted the solemnity, declaring that, unless the above-mentioned oath was pronounced, he would not permit the coronation to proceed. He and Dembinski, grand chancellor of Poland, who was also a Protestant, presented to the monarch, who was kneeling on the steps of the altar, a scroll containing the oath he had sworn at Paris. This boldness terrified the monarch, who rose from the place where he was kneeling. The by-standers were mute with astonishment; but Firley took the crown, and said in a loud voice: "*Si non jurabis, non regnabis.*" This bold step created great confusion; the Romanists were terror-struck, and dared not to oppose the high-minded palatine of Cracow, who remained firm, although some Protestants, as Zborowski and Radziwill, began to waver. The

king was obliged fully to repeat his oath of Paris, and the generous act of Firley insured the triumph of the cause of religious liberty.

This compulsory confirmation of the rights of the anti-Romanists given by Henry, could by no means allay their suspicions and fears. The bishops, supported by the favour of the monarch, grew every day bolder, and manifested projects which they had hitherto concealed from prudential motives. Solikowski, induced by the king, published a libel against the proceedings of the election relating to religious liberty; but Firley punished with imprisonment the printer of that pamphlet. Meanwhile, the general discontent originating from the opinion that the king had fallen entirely under the influence of the clergy, was rapidly spreading over the country. The influence of the Protestant family, Zborowski, who having supported the election of Henry, enjoyed great favour with that monarch, was rapidly decreasing by the machinations of the papal legate : * and the death of Firley, occasioned as it was supposed by poison, † increased the fears of the Protestants, and encouraged the Romanists to

* "*Episcopi cum legato pontificio Zborovium, a quo ob diversitatem religionis maxime cavebant, quantum possunt remouent.*"—Heydenstein.

† "*Firlejus non sine suspitione veneni decesserat.*"—Heydenstein.

new attempts. The profligate manners of Henry, who openly outraged every decorum, disgusted the nation ; and the discontent rose to such a height, that the country was threatened with civil war, and several districts ceased to acknowledge Henry as monarch, and publicly rejected his mandates. It is probable that, had this state of things continued longer, the country would have been thrown into confusion and anarchy. It was, however, fortunately terminated by the flight of the king, who secretly left the country on receiving the news of the demise of his brother, Charles the Ninth of France.

CHAPTER II.

INTERREGNUM AND REIGN OF STEPHEN BATTORY.

THE reign of Henry of Valois, which lasted only four months (from 21st February to 18th June), was too short to afford time for the development of the machinations which the Romanist clergy had manifested by their opposition to the coronation oath of that monarch. Their party flattered themselves a long time with the delusive hope, that Henry would return to the

country. The royal party, weakened by the departure of the king, declined every day, and a great animosity was manifested on several occasions against those who attempted to defend the rights of Henry.

The throne of Poland is declared vacant, and the election of a new monarch resolved on.

At last, the assembly of Stenzycza declared, on the 22d May 1575, the throne vacant, notwithstanding the opposition of the clergy, and fixed a new election for the 7th November of the same year. The same assembly confirmed the religious liberties established by the confederation of the 6th January 1573, declaring all those who would infringe those enactments punishable by the deprivation of civil and political rights, and infamous.

Candidates to the throne, and state of parties.

The Protestants, taught by the error which they had committed in assenting to the election of Henry of Valois, endeavoured to elevate to the throne of Poland a Protestant candidate, or at least such a one as would be favourably disposed towards their faith. Several candidates for the vacant throne of Poland presented themselves to the elective assembly, which was divided into Protestant, Romanist, aristocratic, and democratic parties. Alphonse, duke of Ferrara, was supported by so small a party, that he had not the slightest chance of success. There were some few who supported the czar of Muscovy, but the same reasons which prevented his election in 1573, equally acted against him on

this occasion. The strongest parties were those in favour of the emperor Maximilian the Second, and those who wished to elect a native of the country. The first of them was composed of all the senate and the Roman Catholic clergy, the second comprehended all the equestrian order, and was headed by Zamoyski. This last party would have succeeded in its wishes, if the two candidates, Kostka palatine of Sandomir, and Tenczynski palatine of Belz, presented by the equestrian order, had not declined the proffered crown. Meanwhile, Stephen Batory, duke of Transylvania,* scarcely dared to put forward his claim; and his agent, Hieronimus Philipowski, acting rather as a private person than a public functionary, promoted the views of his master with great caution. He

Stephen Batory presents himself as a candidate for the vacant throne.

* Stephen Batory was born in Hungary, in 1532, of a good but not wealthy family. He commenced his career in the service of the emperor Ferdinand the First. Being, however, dissatisfied with the emperor, who did not redeem him when he was taken prisoner in Hungary, he left his service and entered that of John Sigismund, duke of Transylvania, and son of John Zapolya, king of Hungary, (vid. vol. i. page 240.) Being sent by that prince as an ambassador to the emperor Maximilian the Second, he was retained under the pretext that the truce was broken, and kept in a close confinement during three years; which time he employed in the study of historical authors, but particularly that of the commentaries of Julius Cæsar, which he knew almost by heart. Being released from prison, he became, in 1570, duke of Transylvania, after the death of John Sigismund.

opposed Maximilian, and proposed to elect a native, to whom he promised considerable pecuniary assistance. His accredited delegates, the Italian Blandrata, whom we had an opportunity of mentioning,* and Berewiczy, remained inactive watching the events; but his interests were promoted chiefly by the Zborowskis, a member of whose family had found, during his exile from Poland, an asylum at the court of Battory;† but Battory derived the greatest support from his own merit, the report of which rendered his name popular in Poland.

Emperor Maximilian elected by the senate.

The equestrian order, headed by Zamoyski, proclaims princess Anna queen, and

The senate elected unanimously the emperor Maximilian the Second, and the primate proclaimed him, on the 12th December, king of Poland. This proceeding was illegal, and irritated the equestrian order, who, headed by Zamoyski, offered the throne to the princess Anna, sister of Sigismund Augustus, and to Stephen Battory, on con-

* Vide vol. i. page 350.

† A few days after the coronation of Henry, Samuel Zborowski quarrelled in the royal castle with John Tenczynski; they drew their swords, and began to fight. Wapowski, castellan of Przemyśl, who wished to prevent their duel, was mortally wounded by Zborowski. Such an action, committed in the royal castle, was a capital offence; but king Henry, who favoured the Zborowskis, punished Samuel only by exile, without loss of honour and property. The same Zborowski entered afterwards into a conspiracy against king Stephen, and was beheaded at Cracow in 1583.

dition of his marrying that princess. Blandrata and Berewiczy swore in the name of Battery, that the conditions presented to them should be fulfilled. The senate soon began to waver; the families Zborowski, Gorka, and other Protestant senators, gave their adhesion to the election of Battery. Their example was followed by all the senate; and even the clergy, after some hesitation, declared the heretic candidate their monarch.

Stephen Battery king, on condition of marrying her; and the senate is obliged to assent to that election.

The election of a Protestant to the throne of Poland seemed to insure the final triumph of the Protestant cause in that country; but the Romanist clergy, who saw their danger, despatched Solikowski, a clergyman of eminent talent and learning, in order to gain over the new monarch to their party.

This prelate had to contend with great difficulties, as the delegation, consisting of thirteen members, sent to announce to Battery his elevation to the throne of Poland, was composed of Protestants with the only exception of Mnishek. This delegation watched carefully that Solikowski should have no private conversation with Battery; but he eluded their vigilance, and obtained a night interview with the new monarch. This interview was fatal to the cause of the Reformation in Poland, because Solikowski succeeded by his arguments in persuading Battery, that he had no chance of maintaining himself on the throne of Poland, unless he would

Stephen Battory, induced by the intrigues of Solikowski, becomes, on entering Poland, a Romanist.

make a public profession of Romanism. Solikowski's arguments were supported by the consideration that the princess Anna, being a bigotted Romanist, would never have accepted of a Protestant husband. Battory was weak enough to listen to those arguments; and on the next day, the Protestant delegates beheld with dismay the monarch, on whom they had founded the final triumph of their cause, devotedly kneeling at the mass.* This act reanimated the hope of the Romanists, who considered otherwise their cause as ruined in Poland.

Battory confirmed without the least hesitation the liberties of the anti-Romanist confessions; but although he had no inclination to persecute those confessions, the prospects of the Reformation were entirely obscured by his submission to Rome.

* It is very remarkable, that almost all the historians who relate the accession of Stephen Battory to the throne of Poland, describe him as a Roman Catholic, although suspected of leaning towards the doctrines of the Reformation, but not as a professed Protestant. The fact is, however, described by the contemporary author Svientoslav Orzelski, who wrote an account of the election of Henry of Valois and Stephen Battory. This valuable contribution to the history of Poland has never yet been printed; but the manuscript of it was in the library Zaluski at Warsaw, and is now at St. Petersburg.—Vide our Preface. We give it on the authority of Friese, who had read this manuscript.—Vide *Beyträge zur Reformation, Geschichte*, vol. ii. page 49.

The Roman hierarchy saw its advantage; it resumed its hopes and schemes, and began gradually to execute those plots against the Protestants, which were suspended by difficulties, but never been abandoned. The Romanist synod of Piotrkow confirmed, in 1577, the most intolerant regulations of their church, and pronounced excommunication against all who should acknowledge liberty in religious exercises: a resolution directly averse to the fundamental law of the country, and consequently treasonable. The same synod confirmed the enactments of the council of Trent, which, as we have already seen, were rejected by the senate of Poland.*

The Roman Catholic synod of Piotrkow, in 1577, confirms the enactments of the council of Trent, which were rejected by the senate.

The synods of the diocese of Warmia, which was independent of the church of Poland, convoked, in 1575, 1577, and 1578, under the direction of the bishops Hosius, Cromer, and Rudzki, were much more violent than that of Piotrkow; they declared heretics unfit to possess landed property, prohibited mixed marriages, enjoined persons not to be sponsors at the baptism of Protestant children, and forbade the use of books and hymns not confirmed by the ecclesiastical authority, and friendly intercourse between the Romanist clergy and the Protestant ministers. The clergy sought also to recover the tithes; which those land-owners who had become Protestants refused to pay, and

The Roman Catholic synods of the diocese of Warmia adopt several resolutions against the progress of heresy.

* Vide vol. i. page 318.

to seize again the churches which had been converted from Romanist into Protestant ones. In order to attain their object they commenced several law-suits, and obtained, in many instances, favourable judgments ; but the diets of 1581 and 1582 declared against the claims of the church, and annulled the judgments given in their favour. The legate of the Pope, cardinal Bolognetus, complained bitterly to the diet of 1585, that religion was violated ; that heretical venom was spreading over the whole country ; that the penal jurisdiction of Rome was abolished, tithes taken away, churches seized by the heretics, and the clergy deprived of their incomes ; and he concluded by proposing that the enactments of the confederation of the 6th Jan. 1573, should be abolished. These complaints and demands of the legate produced, however, no effect on the diet.

Establishment of the tribunals or supreme courts of justice, by which the church is deprived of its separate jurisdiction.

One of the most remarkable events of the reign of Batory was the establishment, in 1577, of an elective tribunal, or supreme court of justice, instead of the royal Court.* The nobles determined on that occasion to abolish the immunities

* Two tribunals were established, one for the province of Great and Little Poland, established in 1578, and another for Lithuania, established in 1581. They were composed of deputies or members elected every year by the same voters, who returned the nuncios to the diet or members of parliament. The tribunal for Poland assemble twice a-year, viz. for the affairs of Great Poland and Prussia, at Piotrkow, from the first of September till

which rendered the church independent of the state, and to subject the clergy to the ordinary tribunals.

During the interregnum, after the demise of Sigismund Augustus, the nobles established in each palatinate tribunals, which were to decide in the last instance, and to which the clergy was made amenable; and when the archbishop insisted on the ancient immunities of the church, he was condemned in a heavy fine.

The clerical delegates who brought a protest against the national court of justice, excited such indignation, that they were in danger of being thrown out of the windows, and narrowly escaped with their lives. The clergy, however, succeeded in eluding that enactment, which threatened its interests as a separate body, and was calculated to render the church subservient to the state. But when, in 1577, the above-mentioned tribunal was established the following mode of procedure, in adjudicating on cases relating to the church, was

Palm Sunday; and for Little Poland, at Lublin, from the Monday of the week beginning with the first Sunday after Easter, till St. Thomas's day. The tribunal of Lithuania, assembled at Grodno from the first of May till the last of October; and at Vilna, from the 15th November till the 15th April. Each tribunal was presided over by a marshal elected for the year; and the cases were decided by a majority of votes. In case of parity, the affair under consideration was postponed to the next meeting of the next tribunal.

introduced, on the proposition of Zamoiski. In all cases relating to the estates, and other real property of the church, the court was to be composed of all the members of the tribunal, with the addition of six clergymen. All cases of injury to the persons of the clergy, or to property belonging to the church, and all cases relating to the revenues of churches, convents, and chapters, were to be settled by a court composed of six clerical and six lay members; and should there be an equality of votes, the case was to be referred to the king. Affairs of a purely religious nature, such as apostasy, heresy, sacrilege, &c. were to be decided either by the tribunal, without the admission of any clergymen, or sometimes by the diet; which was, however, a deviation from the usual course. Thus the Roman Catholic hierarchy was deprived of its own independent jurisdiction, and submitted to the national authorities. But the tribunals, or supreme courts of justice, being composed of members annually elected, and consequently dependent on the instructions of their constituents became easy tools in the hands of the Jesuits, as soon as these had succeeded in perverting public opinion by their preposterous system of education, which lowered the national intellect in a deplorable manner..

Partiality of
Stephen Bat.

Although Stephen Battory strictly maintained the laws protecting the religious liberties of the

nation, and promoted merit, without reference to religious persuasion, the Jesuits unfortunately insinuated themselves into his favour; and indeed Battery, whose reign of ten years is one of the most glorious epochs in the annals of Poland, may be considered as having greatly contributed to its future decline, by establishing the influence of that order in his dominions. Supported by his patronage, the Jesuits' colleges and schools spread all over the country, and he laid the foundation of their chief seat in Poland, the university of Vilna, which, notwithstanding the opposition of the Protestants,* who foresaw the dangers which threatened them from that quarter, he established in the centre of a population, a large majority of which was anti-Romanist (Protestant and Greek). The erection of the university of Vilna and of the college in the newly-conquered town of Polotsk, by the sole authority of the monarch, was unconstitutional, and as such strongly attacked by the diet of 1585; but the influence of the king prevailed over the opposition of the diet, and the privileges of these foundations were confirmed.

tory for the
Jesuits.

* Prince Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, and grand chancellor of Lithuania, as well as the vice-chancellor, Eustachius Wolowicz, both Protestants, refused to affix the seal of the state to the charter for the Jesuits' university, representing to the monarch the dangerous consequences of that act; but the king disregarded their representations.

These injudicious favours bestowed on the most zealous supporters of Rome, produced the natural consequence, and emboldened the Catholic clergy to acts of violence against their antagonists.

The tragical history of the reformed church of Cracow, is one of the best illustrations of the system which was followed in Poland by the Romanist clergy against the other confessions, whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity for applying it. We have seen that this church was legally established by the authorization of king Sigismund Augustus;* but the doctrine of Hosius, advocated in the pulpit, that no faith should be kept with heretics, and that heresy should be exterminated by all means, produced its effects. Excited by such doctrines, a large mob of the lowest description, led on by some pupils of the university, blind with fanaticism, and greedy of lust and rapine, attacked on a Sunday (10 Oct. 1574) the reformed church of Cracow. They were repelled by those within, but, after repeated attacks, they broke into the premises on Tuesday, and committed the greatest excesses. They destroyed or carried off every thing that they found; amongst other things, money and objects of price, to the value of fifty thousand ducats, which had been deposited there for safety by Protestant nobles. The council of

Pillage of the
reformed
church of
Cracow by
a mob.

* Vide vol. i. page 335.

the town, being composed of Romanists, did not interfere, and permitted this public robbery to go on without interruption. The garrison of the castle was not numerous, and its commander, Palczowski, although a Protestant, dared not betray his trust by hastening to the rescue of his church, because, had he left the royal castle undefended, it might have been pillaged by the same mob which was robbing the Protestant church. The Romanist party, however, was not sufficiently strong to ensure impunity to the perpetrators of this crime. Peter Zborowski, palatine of Cracow, restored order in the city, and five of the principal rioters were beheaded; but the real instigators of the violence escaped punishment, chiefly through the confusion which was created in the country by the interregnum which ensued on the flight of Henry of Valois.

During this interregnum, another riot took place at Cracow on the 16th June, 1575; the mob attacked the Protestant burial-ground, exhumed the dead bodies, and treated them with the utmost indignity; even the body of Myszkowski, palatine of Cracow, was not exempt from such profanation.

Profanation of the Protestant burying-ground, and several other excesses, committed at Cracow by the mob and the pupils of the university.

This outrage was not even enquired into. In 1577, the pupils of the university, accompanied by the lowest of the mob, committed several excesses. In April they made an attack on several Protestant clergymen; in June they invaded the

burial-ground, and destroyed several monuments ; and in July many Protestant inhabitants of the suburb of Kleparz were attacked in their own houses, and treated with great indignity. The king, being apprised of these excesses, sent a severe order to the rector of the academy, and to the authorities of the town, to repress and punish them.* Yet, notwithstanding the royal mandate, a new scandal was committed in June of the following year: the funeral procession of a Protestant lady was attacked in the streets by the pupils of All-hallows college, who with stones dispersed the procession, tore the body from the coffin, and after having dragged it through the streets, threw it into the Vistula. During several days crowds of these students, joined by the mob, meditated fresh violence, from which they were prevented with great difficulty. Such enormities were too great to be passed over, and the monarch strictly ordered the authorities of the town to prevent the recurrence of similar abuses. The bishop of Cracow, the rector of the university, the governor of the royal castle, the aldermen of the town, as well as several senators and eminent noblemen, issued an ordinance, which was confirmed by the

* The particulars of these persecutions are chiefly taken from the chronicle of the church of Cracow, by Albert Wengierski, written in Polish in 1651, but first published in 1817 at Cracow.

king. By it all persons were forbidden, on pain of death, to excite commotion, or commit violence, on account of religious differences. Should the public authorities, in repressing these disorders, occasion loss of life, they were not to be held answerable for it; all criminal cases arising out of the above-mentioned circumstances were to be brought before the king himself; students of the university were directed to live in certain dwellings assigned to them, and were also prohibited from carrying guns and pikes, as things improper to their calling; pupils, who subsisted by begging their daily sustenance, common beggars, vagrants of every kind, and all individuals, who had no sufficient guarantee of their moral conduct, were subjected to severe regulations; the privileges of houses belonging to nobles were abolished; a regular force for the maintenance of public peace was organized; convents were prohibited from giving asylum to vagrants; and the university of Cracow, which theretofore had admitted only Roman Catholics, was opened to students of every religious persuasion.* This ordinance, although it was rendered nugatory when the influence of the Jesuits became predominant in Poland, produced at least a temporary effect; and notwithstanding some insignificant attempts

Severe regulations enacted for the maintenance of public peace.

* This ordinance, dated Cracow, the 2d Sept. 1578, is reprinted in Friese's *Beyträge zur Reformation, geschichte, &c.* vol. ii. p. 70.

of the pupils belonging to the colleges of the Holy Virgin, St. Stephen and St. Anne, to attack the Protestant church, it remained unmolested during the remainder of the reign of Stephen Batory.

Various persecutions of the Protestants at Vilna.

Attempts to persecute Protestants were not confined to Cracow, but were repeated at Vilna, although they could not be carried to such an excess in a city, of which the majority of inhabitants belonged to anti-Romanist confessions. George Radziwill, bishop of Vilna, and afterwards cardinal, son of the celebrated Nicholas Radziwill, who was such a strenuous promoter of the Reformation under the reign of Sigismund Augustus, endeavoured, by his zealous devotion to Rome, to atone for the heresy of his father. The mob, excited by his influence, attacked and pillaged a Protestant printing-office, and the workmen of the same office were bribed by the Jesuits to make away with the types. This treatment compelled the owner of the establishment to remove from Vilna, and to transfer his office to a safer place. Radziwill collected, by every means, anti-Romanist books, in order to burn them publicly. He endeavoured also to prevent their publication and sale. Protestant funerals were frequently attacked by the mob, which committed great excesses against them. Even the Protestant church was threatened with a fate similar to that of Cracow; but the king, who

was at that time on an expedition against Muscovy, prevented farther violence by an ordinance, dated from his camp, Pskow, 26th Sept. 1588, by which he enjoined the maintenance of peace, and the protection of the Protestant confessions. He strongly disapproved of the attacks which were made against them; and observed, in the same ordinance, that wherever religion was supported by fire and sword, and not by doctrine and good conduct, it always led to internal commotions and domestic war. That God himself predicted the coming of scandals and heresies; that he did not wish to coerce any man's conscience, which he left to the judgment of God; and that, fulfilling the conditions he had sworn, he would protect the Protestants, whose liberties were secured by the laws of the country. Thus this great monarch endeavoured to prevent the consequences of his own work—we mean the patronage which he bestowed on the Jesuits, who were the principal instigators of all the above-mentioned religious troubles. But, although his strong hand succeeded in repressing the deplorable effects of a cause, which he had himself created, the control which was exercised over that dangerous order ceased with his life, and its pernicious influence increased, during the subsequent reign, in rapid progression.

The only instance of severity exercised by Stephen Battory against an individual, on account

of his religious opinions, was the expulsion of the celebrated Christian Francken, who presided for some time at the Socinian School of Chmielnick ; and this was probably done in accordance with the law of 1564,* which enacted the expulsion from Poland of all the foreign ministers professing antitrinitarian doctrines.

Alexis Rodecki, a Socinian printer, was imprisoned by an order of the king, obtained through the influence of the Jesuits ; but he recovered his liberty through the representations of Taszycki, an influential noble professing Socinianism, and owner of Lustawice, where a celebrated school of that sect was in existence for some time. The king spoke on that occasion, the following remarkable words to Taszycki :—" I wish, indeed, that the Roman Catholic faith only should be professed by all, and I would not spare my own blood, in order to obtain it. But as it cannot be, particularly in these unfortunate times, if God himself will not remedy it, I shall never permit the spilling of blood, or any persecution on that account. Have therefore no fear in that respect, because we are fully convinced that the consciences of men cannot be coerced." Although Battory permitted not any open religious persecution, it may be said that he rather suffered

* Vide vol. i. p. 322.

than acknowledged the existence of the Protestant confessions, considering them, according to the evidence of the Jesuits, as an evil which it was necessary to extirpate by peaceful means.*

It was moreover impossible to make any open on the Protestants, which party was at that attack time in full vigour; but he evidently favoured the extension of Romanism whenever it was possible to do so, without danger; and the influence of the Jesuits induced him sometimes to abandon even this provident course, chiefly, however, to promote their establishments in the midst of anti-Romanist populations. We have already mentioned the establishment of their colleges at Vilna and Polotzk; and we must not pass unnoticed the attempt at founding one in Livonia. This important province, united to the Polish dominions under Sig. Augustus, was entirely Lutheran.† Battory, however, induced by the persuasions of Possevinus, established the Roman Catholic bishopric of Wenden, and Jesuit colleges at Dorpat and Riga. In the last named city, exceedingly important by its commerce, he ordered a church to be taken from the Lutherans, and given to the Jesuits. This order was not executed

Attempt of re-introducing Romanism into Livonia, and troubles caused by it at Riga.

* *Religionis Catholicæ observantissimus, diversæ sectæ homines, ferendos patienter, Deoque et tempori committendos quam persequendos arbitrabatur.* Sacchini. *Histor. societatis Jesu* ad ann. 1529.

† Vide vol. i. p. 333.

without violence ; and the municipal authorities of Riga, foreseeing the bad consequences of that arbitrary act, vainly petitioned the king to desist from such proceedings, and not to permit the Jesuits to establish a school in their city. A convent of Jesuits was, however, founded at Riga, under the direction of Laterna, Skarga, and Brukner, all celebrated for their zeal against the anti-Romanists. This created among the Protestants a general discontent, which feeling was increased by the introduction of the Gregorian calendar. This last measure, although unobjectionable in itself, was strongly opposed by the Protestants, who considered it, not without some reason, as a first act of submission to Rome, which would take advantage of that concession, in order to exact more important ones. The commotion which was caused by that measure at Dorpat, was easily suppressed ; but the discontent rose at Riga to such a degree, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of the municipality, who, aware of the impossibility of resisting the royal authority, tried to persuade the inhabitants to submit to what was inevitable and became suspected of conniving at the machinations of the Jesuits, a violent riot broke out in 1585, the church of the Jesuits was attacked, the congregation was ill-treated, and Rubinus, the superior of the order, threatened with assassination. The authorities of the city soon restored order, and prevented

further attempts at creating disturbance. But in the beginning of 1586, another commotion took place, caused by the imprisonment of Mollerus, a popular preacher, who had excited the inhabitants against the Jesuits. Rubinus, the superior of the Jesuits, was obliged to leave the town, and the municipality being unable to restrain the population, acted on that occasion as mediators between the inhabitants and the monarch, and accepted the conditions that the school of the Jesuits should be abolished and that the public processions in the streets should be discontinued. The king however, ordered every thing to be restored as it was before. The municipality endeavoured to mediate, but when the Jesuits, emboldened by the tranquillity which reigned in the town, returned again to Riga, a more violent riot took place, and the burgomasters suspected of favouring the Jesuits, were murdered. The king cited the leaders of that insurrection before his tribunal; as they did not appear, he condemned them at the diet of Grodno, in 1586, to the punishment of death, and ordered the schools and the church to be restored to the Jesuits : but the sudden death of the monarch prevented the execution of that decree.

We shall describe in due time the subsequent events connected with Romanism, which took place at Riga under the reign of Battory's successor. In concluding the reign of Stephen Battory, we must not omit mentioning the per-

Pernicious influence of the

**Jesuits on the
foreign policy
of Battory.**

icious effects, which the influence of the Jesuits produced on the foreign policy of Poland, by bringing about the untoward peace with Muscovy, concluded at Kiwerova Gorka, in 1582, which arrested the victorious career of that heroic monarch. This peace the celebrated Jesuit Possevinus, deluded by the cunning policy of Tzar Ivan Vassilowich into the belief that he could induce him to submit the church of Moscow to the supremacy of Rome, persuaded Battory to adopt. As our limits preclude us from entering into the political history of Stephen's reign, we shall content ourselves by stating, that this monarch justly celebrated died in 1586, at Grodno, after a very short illness.

CHAPTER III.

EFFORTS MADE BY THE PROTESTANTS TO EXTEND AND CONSOLIDATE THE RESULTS OF THE UNION OF SANDOMIR, DURING THE PERIOD FROM THE DEMISE OF SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS, TO THE ACCESSION OF SIGISMUND THE THIRD, 1572—1587.

A GENERAL synod of all the Protestant churches was convoked at Cracow, on the 14th September, 1573. It was composed of many persons of high rank, as well as of a great number of ministers of the three Protestant churches of Poland.* Over this memorable assembly presided John Firley, palatine of Cracow, grand

General Synod
of Cracow,
1573.

* Amongst the leading lay members of the synod we may mention, beside the President, the following individuals: John Tarlo, castellan of Radomsk; Stanislaw Slupecki, castellan of Lublin; Hieronimus Buzenski, grand treasurer of Poland; Myazkowski, starost of Oswiecim; Z. Straz, Andreas Firley, Nicholas Koniecpolski, Nicholas Dluski, Hier. Gostomski, John Karminski: amongst the ministers, Sudrovius, reformed minister of Vilna; G. Israel, John Laurentius, and J. Rokita, seniors of the Bohemian brethren; Erasmus Gliczner, superintendent of the Lutheran churches of Grand Poland.

marshal of Poland, who was the leader of the members of the Helvetian church, and at that time, perhaps, the most influential grandee of the country. The chief object of this meeting was to exhibit to the newly elected monarch, Henry of Valois, the strength and importance of the Protestant party: and this demonstration was rendered particularly necessary by the manifest hostility of the Romanist clergy, who might easily expect to derive great support from a prince, accused of having taken an active part in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Although the religious liberties of the nation were amply secured by the acts of the confederation of the same year, as well as by the coronation oath of the king, there could be no implicit reliance on such pledges, against which the bishops, with the exception of the patriotic Francis Krasinski, had protested, and which Cardinal Hosius openly advised the king to break as impious, and contrary to the interests of the church. These powerful considerations caused all theological differences to be waived, and the enactments of the synod of Sandomir, 1570, as well as the development of them by the synod of Posnania of the same year, were fully confirmed. The church discipline was defined by more precise rules, without encroaching on that independent interior organization of each respective confession, which was not contrary to their dogmatical union.

Amongst the several regulations enacted by this synod, the most important are those which relate to the improvement of the manners of their congregations, and had already been agreed to at the synods of the Helvetian churches, held at Xionz and Vlodislav. They were as follows :

“ All kinds of wickedness and luxury, accursed gluttony and inebriety; abusive language, dances, pride and excess in dress in every one in every place, and particularly in places of worship, shall be prevented and abolished. Weddings are to be solemnized with steadiness, a becoming decorum, modesty and sanctity of manners. Inns, taverns, and public-houses, are to be furnished with every thing necessary for the comfort of travellers, as well as of inhabitants; but landowners and all those that have authority shall prevent, by severe punishment, any suspicious assemblies of women, particularly at night, or dances, gambling, and all similar wickedness and excess, from taking place in such houses. Landowners shall take care of their subjects, and treat them with Christian charity and due humanity. They must not exact from their peasants either heavy or oppressive labour or taxes, but rather treat them in the same manner as they (the landowners) would themselves have wished to have been treated, if they had been in their (the peasants) place. Landowners must also take care that no markets or fairs be held on their estates on Sunday; neither

Its wise and pious regulations concerning manners and morals.

must they exact any kind of service from their peasants on that day." These salutary regulations were declared binding for the followers of the Helvetian churches, whilst the Lutherans and Bohemian brethren were allowed to follow their own customs. The spirit in which they were framed, gives an idea of the benefits which Poland would have derived, if the reformed church which enacted them had finally triumphed in that country; and it shows what fair hopes were blighted, by its having succumbed to Romanist reaction.

The same synod took especial care to draw a strict line of separation between the reformed churches, and those which, having become infected with Anti-trinitarian opinions, claimed, nevertheless, communion with the Protestant churches, and assumed the title of the minor church. Although the sitting posture at the communion was advocated by that great reformer John Laski, the synod abolished it, and ordered that the Lord's table should be attended in a kneeling or standing posture. This was done in order to avoid a mode adopted by the Anti-trinitarians, with whom it was also recommended to avoid polemical discussions. The synod of Posnania convened on the 15th of November of the same year, and composed of Lutherans and Bohemian brethren, confirmed the resolutions of that of Cracow. This last synod resolved to receive the newly elected king Henry

of Valois with the greatest splendour, in order to give him a high opinion of the strength of the Protestant party. This resolution was followed up, and the manner in which king Henry was received by Stanislaw Gorka, palatine of Posnania, a zealous Protestant, filled with astonishment the retinue of the French prince, who described in terms of the greatest admiration the splendid welcome which that wealthy nobleman offered to his new sovereign.

Had the union of the Protestant churches of Poland, which was concluded at Sandomir 1570, remained unimpaired, the final triumph of their cause would have been speedily accomplished. This was clearly perceived by the Romanists, who abused it in several publications in the most virulent manner, attempting to throw ridicule and contempt upon it.* The danger, however, which soon began to threaten that union, and finally dissolved it, bringing about the ruin of the Protestant cause in Poland, arose not in that hostile quarter, but originated in the very camp of the Protestants. We have seen that the Lutherans had shewn the greatest reluctance to join the union, which was disapproved of by many of their divines in Germany, although there were amongst

* For instance, the Jesuit Wujek in his work, entitled "Judgment of some Catholics, &c." *Jurgiewich in Bellum quinti Evangelii*, Cichocki Alloquia Ossiec.

these last some few who approved of it.* Although they had finally subscribed to it, chiefly through the instrumentality of Erasmus Gliczner, superintendent of the Lutheran churches of Grand Poland, and confirmed it by subsequent synods, opposition to the Helvetian and Bohemian churches was, with many of them, rather silenced than altogether removed. They considered it more as a political compact, than as a dogmatical union; and many of them would more easily have agreed in some points with the Romanists, than with the followers of the other two Protestant churches. These elements of discord soon began to manifest themselves, and the synod of Cracow, 7th of May, 1576, was obliged to impose certain penalties on ministers who had attempted to disturb the union of Sandomir.

The Protestants of Poland were anxious to extend their union to the Protestant churches of all Europe; the principal noblemen of that persuasion took advantage of their meeting at the diet of Warsaw, in 1578, to address the Protestant sovereigns of Germany for that purpose. They sent letters to several of them, namely, to Lewis,

* Thus, for instance, George Major, in a letter addressed to Laurentius, senior of the Bohemian Brethren, dated Wittemberg, 6th May, 1571, says amongst others: "*O vos felices, per quos vel aliquis pius consensus in doctrinâ Christi constitutus est,*" &c. &c. apud Lukaszewicz.

palatine of the Rhine, Augustus, elector of Saxony, and George Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg, as a desire of removing the differences, which divided the Protestant churches, was particularly manifested in the dominions of those princes. The Polish noblemen deplored in their letters the discord which agitated the German churches, and expressed a wish that a union, which since the *consensus* of Sandomir, 1570, happily existed in Poland amongst the Protestant churches, might become general; and they recommended, as the only means of obtaining that desideratum, the convocation of a general synod of all the Protestant churches of Europe, to which those of Poland were prepared to send delegates.*

Attempt of the Polish Protestants to extend the effects of the union of Sandomir to all Europe, and to promote the convocation of a general Synod of all the Protestant churches.

The Polish Protestant clergy also addressed at the same time, and for the same purpose, letters to the German churches. They said amongst others, "A perfect understanding prevails amongst us, notwithstanding that foreign intrigues attempt to destroy our union. Though

* These letters, dated Warsaw, 28th February, 1578, were signed by the following grandees, Peter Zborowski, palatine of Cracow; Nicholas Prince Radziwill, palatine of Wilna; John Tenczynski, palatine of Lublin; Nicholas Dorohostayski, palatine of Polotsk; Stanislaw Gorka, palatine of Posnania; Eustachius Wollowicz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania; Adam Gostomski, palatine of Rava; Hieronimus Buzepski, grand

separated by minor differences, we compose one body, and one host against the Arians and Papists. We wish to the German churches a similar union. It is necessary to convoke a general European Protestant synod, which shall unite all shades of the Reformation into one general confession, and give it a uniform direction." They offered, at the same time, their co-operation at such a general synod.*

These epistles produced, however, no effect; and the German churches were at that time very far from that union, which they have partly accomplished in our times.† The palatine of the

treasurer of Poland; John Chlebowicz, grand treasurer of Lithuania; John Chrystoporski, castellan of Wielun, &c.—Vid. Pareus *Irenicon* 1614, and Friese's *Beyträge*, vol. ii. page 52.

* These letters were signed amongst others by Erasmus Gliczner, superintendent of the Lutheran churches of Grand Poland; Paul Gilowski, superintendent of the district of Cracow, in the name of the Helvetian churches of Little Poland, Russia and Podolia; Andreas Prazmowski, superintendent of Cujavia, in the name of the Helvetian churches of Grand Poland and Lithuania; Theophilus Turnowski, in the name of all the Bohemian churches of Poland, &c.—Vid. Friese.

† We allude to the union between the Lutheran and Reformed churches effected in Prussia in 1817, which was likewise introduced into several other parts of Germany, although it was rejected by many churches even in Prussia.

Rhine answered the letter of the Polish noblemen with great courtesy. He congratulated the Polish churches on the union they had effected, and expressed his wishes for its duration. He deplored the discord which agitated the German churches; expressing a hope that God in his mercy would pacify them. Finally, he accepted the co-operation of the Polish churches, should a general synod be convoked.*

The answers of the electors of Saxony, and of the margrave of Brandenburg, were not more satisfactory, and less courteous.

The same year, 1578, on the 1st of June, a general Protestant synod was convoked at Piotrkow. It was presided over by P. Zborowski, palatine of Cracow; James Niemojewski, a learned noble of the Bohemian confession; and Paul Gilowski, superintendent of the Helvetian churches of the district of Cracow. It was occasioned by the project of a *Harmony of the Protestant confessions*, which at that time was broached by some learned divines of Germany, in imitation of the consensus of Sandomir; and at it were adopted the following resolutions:—

General synod
at Piotrkow.

1. Having received intelligence, that some learned men in Germany are engaged in writing a *Harmony of the Protestant confessions*, the synod approves of such an undertaking, particu-

* Friese Beyträge, vol. ii. page 50.

larly as it will tend to promote and strengthen the union of Sandomir.

2. The consensus of Sandomir, and the articles of other subsequent general synods, are approved and confirmed.

3. It is very useful and necessary, that ecclesiastical discipline should be strictly and justly enforced on all members of the congregation.

4. It is a very desirable thing that the Lord's Supper be administered with the same ceremonies, in all the Protestant churches of the Polish empire. This, indeed, would not be so difficult, as far as regards the ministers and the more enlightened part of the congregation; but as common people would be much offended by a change of religious ceremonies, and would never be prevailed upon to adopt such as are contrary to those to which they have been accustomed, and would not do so without being coerced by the rigour of church discipline; and as it is contrary to the will of the Lord, and the customs of the primitive church, to persecute pious people for exterior ceremonies; we therefore leave these ceremonies in Christian liberty, and permit the faithful people to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, either in a kneeling or standing posture. But as to what concerns sitting at the Lord's table, which, contrary to the general custom of all the Protestant churches of Europe, originated amongst us with those who have pas-

sionately and without consideration changed every thing in the church, and who, following Christ without knowledge, have deserted us for Arian errors, we reject a custom proper to such men (who perform the sacrament of Christ with no more devotion than they have for himself), as being neither dignified nor devout, but rather apt to give offence to common people.

5. As to what concerns the sick and dying persons, it is resolved, that the ministers ought to teach and accustom their congregation to think that whenever the Lord's table is prepared for the faithful, at the usual times, no one should neglect to approach it; but that every one should, without making any delay and without waiting for the last moment of his life, but being in a sound state of mind and body, be always ready to receive the sacrament, according to the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, in order to be confirmed in the hope of eternal salvation. Nevertheless, as we do not wish to rule over the consciences of men, if a sick person, being in a sound state of mind, desires to receive the sacrament, it shall not be denied to him, but shall be administered with all proper care and judgment.

6. It is resolved that no patron shall admit any minister, and allow him to teach, unless he shall have been regularly ordained by the superintendent and seniors of our churches, and furnished by them with proper testimonials.

7. Since a union has been effected amongst us who follow the Helvetian, the Augustan, and the Bohemian confessions, it shall be free to any church or to any patron of a congregation, belonging to one of those confessions, to call (to the ministry) for just reasons and with the observation of proper formalities, any minister belonging to either of the other confessions.

8. It is resolved, that it is very necessary for the edification of the church of God, to establish a general Protestant school for Poland, supported by the generosity of the patrons (of livings); to which they have willingly assented, and promised to contribute for each of their tenants one Polish florin at least.*

9. Tithes, and every kind of church property, shall be faithfully restored by the patrons to the ministers, and for the necessities of the church.

10. It is resolved, that landowners and those who rent estates shall not allow any markets or fairs to be held on Sundays, in their possessions and tenures, and shall not permit on those days any meetings in public-houses for drunkenness, gambling, and profligacy; moreover they are not to suffer any kind of games, music, songs, or dancing, particularly during the time when divine service is being performed in the church.

* A Polish florin of that time was worth five shillings, English money.

These resolutions were signed by Paul Gilowski, superintendent of the Helvetian churches, Erasmus Gliczner, superintendent of the Lutheran churches of Grand Poland, and John Laurentius, superintendent of the Bohemian churches of the same province, and many other ministers, as well as lay patrons.

The labours of the synod of Piotrkow were scarcely terminated, when the first attempt at dissolving the union which it was so anxious to strengthen, was made by a provincial synod, convened on the 20th of the same month, at Vilna. This assembly was very inconsiderable, being composed of five Lutherans and two Helvetian divines, as well as of some noblemen : such as Prince Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, and Pac, who had formerly been a Roman Catholic Bishop of Kiow, but having embraced Lutheranism, was created castellan of Mstislaf. At this meeting the Lutherans declared against the union of Sandomir, on account of the doctrine of the Eucharist, and separated themselves from the other Protestant churches. This first act of aggression against the consensus of Sandomir was, however, unimportant, and would not have produced any consequences, it having been made in a province where the Lutherans were in great minority.*

First attempt
at dissolving
the union of
Sandomir,
made by the
Lutherans at
Vilna, 1578.

* The first privilege for establishing a Lutheran church at Vilna was granted 1539. The confession of Augsburg spread

Its very existence even has been doubted by some eminent authors, and particularly by the learned Jablonski. We do not, however, think these doubts well founded, as there is sufficient authority for maintaining the contrary opinion.*

The Lutheran minister of Posnania, Paul Gericius, endeavours to destroy the union of Sandomir.

But a much more dangerous attack on the union of Sandomir was made at Posnania by Paul Gericius, minister of the Lutheran congregation, and by Enoch, Polish minister of the same confession, who unable to support the severe church discipline of the Bohemian brethren, had passed over to the Lutherans. This hostility was excited from abroad, particularly at the instigation of the celebrated Francovich, better known under the name of Illyricus Flacius.† They began to

in Lithuania as it did in Poland, chiefly amongst the inhabitants of towns descended from German settlers. It made also a number of converts amongst the nobles, who, with some exceptions, afterwards passed to the Helvetian church, the creed of which predominated amongst that class in Poland. The Lutherans of Lithuania published, 1562, at Nieswiz, a town belonging to Prince Radziwill, a catechism of their confession, in the Slavonic language, which is used for divine service and for religious works by all the Slavonian nations following the Eastern church. It was reprinted in 1628 at Stockholm, probably for diffusion amongst the Russian population inhabiting the provinces ceded by Moscow to Sweden by the treaty of Stolbowa, 1617.

* Vid. Friese's *Beyträge zur Reformations-geschichte in Polen*, vol. ii. p. 97, and following.

† Vid. vol. i. page 371.

preach violently against the union, and went so far as to maintain that it was much better to become Romanists than to adhere to it. In order to stop this mischief, a synod was convoked at Posnania on the 14th February 1582. It was composed of several ministers of the Augustan and Bohemian confessions, and was presided over by Stanislaw Gorka, palatine of Posnania, who reprimanded, in the name of the synod, the disturbers of the union, but left them in their pastoral office.

In order to silence more effectually these wranglings a general synod of the three confessions was convened at Vlodislav on the 9th June 1583. It was composed of about seventy ministers belonging to these different confessions, besides many senators and noblemen from Poland and Lithuania; and it adopted the following resolutions:—

General Synod at Vlodislav in 1583, in order to allay the incipient dissension.

1. The union established by the consensus of Sandomir is solemnly confirmed, and is to be strictly observed.

2. The above-mentioned consensus, as well as the enactments of other subsequent general synods, are to be printed in Latin and Polish.

3. Every minister is to possess a copy of the same, and to observe its regulations, under penalties prescribed by the discipline of the church.

4. No books are to be printed without having

been previously submitted to the approbation of the seniors of the three confessions.*

5. The communion is never to be received in a sitting posture, but always either standing or kneeling.

6. Considering the prevalence of vices of different kinds, a strict discipline is to be introduced into all churches; and those who will remain obstinate in their ungodly life, are to be expelled from the congregation of the faithful.

7. The general synods are to be convoked only with the consent of all the superintendents and the chief lay patrons.

8. Ministers are to prepare in their houses a number of young men for future ministration in the church.

9. Landowners are to contribute yearly, for the support of the schools, one florin for each of their tenants.

10. A fund for the maintenance of superannuated (*emeriti*) ministers is to be raised by a general subscription throughout the country.

11. Ministers are to be ordained only by the superintendents, and their maintenance is to be provided by the patrons of their churches.

Yet were the wise and pious resolutions of the synod of Vlodislav insufficient to extirpate the

* This means, of course, such as relates to religious matters.

seeds of evil, or even to arrest their growth. Enoch, the Lutheran pastor, desisted from his opposition ; but Gericus, irritated by the rebuke which he had received from the synod of Posnania, became still more violent in his attacks against the union of Sandomir, and endeavoured from the pulpit to stir up hatred against the Bohemian brethren, declaring, that Lutherans who frequented their churches were forfeiting the salvation of their souls, and that it was much better to join the Jesuits than the Bohemians. He was assisted in these mischievous proceedings by Lupe-
rinus, who had succeeded Enoch ; and the Jesuits adroitly fanned the flame of discord amongst the Protestants, by flattering the self-love of Gericus, whom they called the only true Lutheran of Poland. This violence gave great scandal, and many Protestants, whose minds were unsettled and disgusted by such disgraceful transactions, abandoned their congregations, and returned into the pale of the old church. This was the case with several noble families, and their example was imitated by thousands of common people.*

Gericus continues to foment disunion among the Protestants.

Notwithstanding these unfortunate circumstances, the followers of the Helveto Bohemian churches exerted themselves with unabated zeal to preserve the union of Sandomir, which they justly considered the only means of saving the

* Vide Friese Beyträge, &c. vol. ii. page 173.

Fruitless attempts at conciliating the growing hostility of the Lutherans made at the assembly of Vilna.

Protestant cause in Poland from the imminent danger with which it was threatened, by the rapidly growing influence of the Jesuits; an influence which, although somewhat repressed by the vigorous rule of Stephen Battory, began to manifest itself in repeated acts of violence. Prince Christopher Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, by great exertions convoked a synod or colloquium between the Reformed and the Lutherans at Vilna on the 14th June 1585, and he requested George Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia, to send to the meeting some learned divines of Königsberg. The duke sent Paul Weisz, professor of divinity, and Martin Henrici, his domestic chaplain. Other Lutheran divines attended, *viz.* Sommer, German pastor of Vilna; Paul Oderborn,* pastor of Kovno, George Plotkowski, a pastor from Poland. There were present also some respectable burghers of Vilna.

Prince Radziwill, in addition to the reformed party, was represented by Naruszewicz, castellan of Minsk, Abrahamowicz, starost of Lida, Zawisza, and several other nobles; and by the following divines: Stanislav Sudrovius, John Ulricus Matthias Johannides, Andreas Chrzonstowski, and

* Oderborn is well known as the author of a history of the celebrated tyrant of Muscovy, Tzar Ivan Vassilovich or Basilides.

Andreas Volanus, an eminent scholar and secretary to the king.

The meeting was opened with an oration by Weisz; after which Volanus deplored the differences which separated the Augustan from the Helvetic confession, and pointed out how desirable it was to suppress internal divisions in order to oppose Antichrist with united force. This desideratum would, according to his opinion, be most easily attained by adopting as a basis the authority of Augustin, because, admitting the great merits of Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, he would set aside all human authority except that of the old fathers of the church, and by that means settle existing differences. Weisz rejoined that he wished not altogether to reject the fathers of the church, but that even Augustin was tainted by the corruption of his times. After some conversation Volanus read the first point of discussion :—

“ Whether the sacraments of God were but mere symbols, or whether they did really offer and bestow the divine and heavenly things which they represented and signified. In the latter case, whether they really contained those things, or only signified that they were granted to us by God. Whether the sacraments and those heavenly things were received in the same manner; or whether the terrestrial and visible things were received by the organs of the body, and the celestial and

invisible things by the faith?" Sommer objected that they were captious questions, which did not express any thing positive, and required that Volanus should recite categorically his confession. Volanus was prepared for it, and read as follows:—

“Abridged confession of all the evangelical churches of England, France, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and of the greatest part of Germany, as well as of Poland and Lithuania, concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ at his last institution. We believe and acknowledge that when the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ is distributed to the believers according to his institution, the bread is his body and the wine is his blood, not by an exterior and invisible transformation of elements into heavenly and visible things, but by the real and true gift of the body and blood of Christ, in such a manner that those who, being endowed by the grace of God with true faith and repentance, receive with the mouth the external elements, are partaking at the same time with the spirit and faith of the body and blood of Christ, to the certain remission of sins and the gift of eternal life, which is obtained by the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Weisz objected that the words *substantialiter* and *corporaliter*, as well as the receiving by the unbelievers, were omitted. Sommer supported

him by the argument that the sacraments being instituted for the whole church, and as there were unbelievers in the church, the sacrament was instituted for them also. After a discussion concerning the *causa efficiens formalis* and *finalis* of the sacrament, Volanus brought forward the argument: that as the body of Christ could not be ejected by the natural course, it could not be corporally received. But the Lutherans refused to discuss that argument.

Volanus maintained that as baptism signified the cleansing of the soul from sin, so communion was only a symbol of the food of the soul. The Lutherans rejected that analogy, and after many fruitless attempts on the part of Radziwill to prevail on them to leave out the expressions *corporalis* and *corporaliter*, they presented as their final opinion touching the doctrine of communion the following confession:—

“ We believe and acknowledge that in the holy supper which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Mary, has instituted on the last night when he was betrayed, the true, natural, and real body of Christ, which is given for us, is truly and substantially present; and his true, natural, and substantial blood which was spilt for us on the altar of the cross is present on earth, in a lawful act and distribution thereof, in such a manner that when the element of wine is distributed and received, the blood of Christ is

truly drunk with the mouth of the body in an unconceivable and inscrutable manner, not only by the believers and the worthy, but also by the unbelievers and the unworthy, yet to different purpose; because to the believers, the forgiveness of sins is by it applied and sealed; but the unworthy eat and drink judgment to themselves, and become guilty against the body and blood of the Lord. We have founded this our doctrine on the true and immutable words of Christ, who has instituted this supper: Christ is truth and life. John xiv. 6. And of whom the eternal Father says: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him. Matthew xvii. 5." Although the word *corporaliter* "bodily" were left out, this confession could never be assented to by the other reformed churches, and thus the colloquium separated without any result having been obtained.*

* Friese, vol. ii. page 139, and following.

CHAPTER IV.

ELECTION OF SIGISMUND THE THIRD.

ALTHOUGH a tribunal, judging without appeal, secured the maintenance of public peace during the interregnum, the Romanist party having regained much of its former strength under the preceding reign, took advantage of the state of things to commence hostilities against the religious freedom of other confessions. Cracow being left without a military force sufficient to repress a riot, (for the troops had marched to a review at Proszowice,) a crowd of the lowest populace, armed with swords, guns, and hatchets, instigated and led on by the students of the university, attacked, on the 8th May 1587, the Protestant church of that city. They took possession of it after some slight resistance, when furniture of every kind, books, &c. were carried into the street and burnt in a bonfire; but neither was rifling, nor other ill usage of persons committed. This act of violence excited great indignation, even amongst many Roman Catholics; the assemblies of Cracow, Sandomir and Wislitz expressed their disapprobation of it; and a commission was appointed to punish the guilty. The inquiries

Pillage of the Protestant church at Cracow during the interregnum.

of the commission proved that the authorities of the town had not done their duty on that occasion, and some persons accused of having fomented the riot were cited before the diet of the coronation; they did not however appear, and the affair was hushed up under the reign of the new monarch.

Confederacies of separate palatinates ensured religious liberty. That of the united palatinates of Lublin, Sandomir, and Cracow, proclaimed, on the 27th December 1586, the abolition of the obsolete enactment of 1438, which the Roman party wished to enforce against the Protestants.* It is remarkable that Myszkowski, bishop of Cracow, foreseeing the dangerous projects of the Jesuits, signed that decision. Though the determination of the temporal authorities to maintain religious liberty had been proclaimed in several parts of the country, the Roman Catholic clergy made an attempt, at the diet of convocation, in March 1587, to curtail it; but they were opposed even by their lay brethren, who, instead of supporting them, manifested a wish to restrict the power of the hierarchy. The bishops threatened to dissolve the assembly, and would have been on that occasion the first to put into execution the *liberum veto*,† which afterwards pro-

* Vide vol. i. page 66.

† It is well known that one member could not only prevent
the

duced so much mischief in Poland ; fortunately Laurentius Goslicki,* at that time bishop of Camieniec, prevented this danger by signing the enactments of the diet, for which he was saluted by the members of that assembly as the saviour of his country, but strongly reprehended by the other bishops, as well as by the legate of the pope.

The Protestants were still very strong, and had they been united, or had they well understood their own interest, they could have turned the balance in favour of a candidate agreeable to their views. Unfortunately the Zborowskis were so far blinded by their hatred of Zamoyski, that instead of promoting the enlightened views of that great citizen, they, with many other Protestant grandees, joined the papal legate, Annibal of Capua, in order to oppose the election either of Zamoyski himself, or of a prince of Transylvania, who was favoured by him : and supported therefore the interests of the archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor.

The czar of Muscovy, Fedor, son of Ivan Vasilowich the Tyrant, a prince of a character quite

the enactment of a law, but dissolve altogether the diet by proclaiming his veto.

* Laurentius Goslicki is the author of a political treatise, entitled *De Optimo Senatore*, published at Venice 1587 ; it was translated into English by Oldisworth, and published in 1737, under the title of the Accomplished Senator, &c.

different from that of his father, had also a considerable party, particularly amongst the Lithuanians.

Election of
Sigismund the
Third.

Sigismund Vaza, prince royal of Sweden and nephew to king Sigismund Augustus, was supported by the influence of his aunt, the dowager queen. Zamoyski, strongly opposed to the Austrian party, espoused the interests of the Swedish prince, who was elected on the 19th August 1587, notwithstanding the great opposition of the Zborowskis and their party, who had proclaimed the archduke of Austria king of Poland, and endeavoured to support his claims by force of arms. The archduke was, however, defeated and taken prisoner by Zamoyski, and obliged to resign his claims. It was very unfortunate that the blind hatred of the Zborowskis prevented Zamoyski from becoming king of Poland, as was wished by many. It seems, however, that this great citizen, (perhaps the greatest man that Poland has ever produced!) had no ambition to possess himself of the throne of his country; because, had he entertained an earnest desire to assume the sceptre of Poland, which for some time he entirely ruled by his influence, there can scarcely be a doubt that, notwithstanding the opposition of antagonists, envious of his greatness, he would have succeeded in his wishes. But whatever the reasons may have been which prevented Zamoyski from wearing the crown of Poland, we repeat our

conviction, that their effect was most deplorable, as well for the country as for the Protestant cause. Although a Roman Catholic, Zamoyski shewed himself, during all his life, an unflinching defender of the religious liberty of every confession, and he manifested, on all occasions, a system of policy opposed to the interests of Rome and Austria, of which the reign of Sigismund, the third Vaza, will afford ample proofs.

Sigismund was son of John, king of Sweden, and Catherine Yaguellon, sister to Sigismund Augustus, and grandson of Gustavus Vaza. His mother was a bigoted Romanist, and completely under the guidance of the Jesuits. Her royal husband, although professing himself a Lutheran, was for some time wavering in his belief, and shewed a great inclination to Romanism. He permitted his son Sigismund to be educated in the Roman Catholic religion, expecting that it would facilitate his accession to the throne of Poland; and it was for the same reason that the young prince was taught the Polish language. King John had several negotiations with the Jesuit Possevinus, and other papal envoys, respecting a reconciliation with the Roman see, and he proposed as conditions, that communion in two kinds, the marriage of priests, and the celebration of mass in the national tongue, should be permitted in Sweden. The pope would not subscribe to these conditions, and it is doubtful

His education,
and devotion
to Rome.

whether the king sincerely meant to bring about a reconciliation with Rome, as such a step would probably have led to a revolt, and endangered the possession of his crown. He even regretted that he had permitted his son to be educated in the Roman Catholic tenets, but the young prince was so deeply imbued with them, that the harshest treatment of his father could not induce him to assist at the Lutheran worship. His disposition in that respect was so well known at Rome, that Sixtus the Fifth wrote to the ambassador of France, after Sigismund's election to the throne of Poland, that Sigismund, prince of Sweden, would abolish Protestantism, not only in Poland, but also in Sweden.*

The election of such a monarch was ominous to the Protestant cause in Poland, already endangered by the lamentable partiality which Stephen Battory had shewn to the Jesuits, and the Romanist re-action, beginning under his reign, had been chiefly promoted by the schools which that order was every where establishing. If the Romanist re-action succeeded in making such progress under the reign of a monarch anxious to maintain the liberties of the nation, what could it not expect from the blind zeal of the bigoted Sigismund the Third? The long reign of that

* Raumer's History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. page 295.

infatuated sovereign, 1587-1632, presents one uniform system of policy, this namely, the promotion of the supremacy of Rome in all the foreign and domestic relations of Poland, in utter disregard of the interests of the nation. This deplorable system undermined the welfare of Poland, and planted the seeds of all the evils which caused the decline and fall of that unfortunate country. The anti-Romanist party was still sufficiently strong to render unsafe all attempts at open persecution, which moreover were prohibited by the laws of the country. Sigismund, therefore, guided by the advice of his Jesuit counsellors, tried, and with lamentable success, to obtain by corruption what he dared not effect by oppression. Although the authority of the monarch was in many respects limited, yet had he the distribution of honours and riches,* and he made it a point never to bestow either, unless forced by circumstances, except on Romanists,

Successful policy of Sigismund the Third against the anti-Romanists.

* The kings of Poland possessed a great number of domains, known under the name of Starosties, which they were obliged to distribute to nobles, who held them for life. A gift of this nature, originally meant as a reward for services, was called *panis bene merentium* ; but as the monarch had an entirely free distribution of these estates, he used them as a means of supporting his authority. They were converted into powerful instruments of seduction in the hands of Sigismund the Third, who with them rewarded those who deserted from Protestantism, or the Greek church, and became converts to Romanism.

and among these, most lavishly on proselytes whom interest had converted, though argument left them unconvinced :* following this line of policy during a reign of forty-five years, he left in the senate, which at the death of Sigismund Augustus was almost entirely composed of anti-Romanists, but two Protestants.† Considering human frailty, and the great influence which motives of ambition and avarice frequently exercise over the upper classes of society, we must rather lament than wonder at this event ; especially if we consider that under the short reign of James the Second, a monarch possessed much less of the arts and means of seduction than Sigismund the Third, and in a Protestant country such as England, several persons were induced to abandon their creed, in order to gain the favour of the sovereign by conforming to his religion. Another means employed by the king to exterminate the anti-Romanist party, was to leave unpunished all the aggressions made on them, in open breach of law. Thus, by ensuring impunity for crimes which deserved capital punishment, he accustomed the nation to contempt of the law, by which he undermined the

* It was the same plan which Gratiani proposed to Henry of Valois. Vide page 35, &c.

† Gradzinski, palatine of Kalish, and Leszczynski, palatine of Belsk.

very foundation of the social edifice, and sowed the seeds of future anarchy and disorder.

The first attempt which the Romanist clergy made under that reign to regain their influence, was a motion made at the Diet of coronation, 1588, to restore to the clergy the possessions and tithes taken from them by the Protestants. The influence of the king was evident on that occasion; for this very proposition, which had been rejected under Stephen Battory, was now passed, although in an indirect manner. They dared not suggest the abrogation of the law of 1556, which authorized every noble to introduce in his estates such mode of Christian worship as he might choose, and of which the natural consequence was, that the revenues of the Roman Catholic church of the place should belong to the confession established in its stead. Then again the confederation of 1573, had guaranteed to every one what he at that time possessed, and thereby assured to the Protestants the tithes and estates which had been appropriated to their churches. The Diet of 1588 therefore adopted a middle course, by permitting the Roman Catholic church to bring actions for the recovery of their property. This permission, however, gave no advantage to the Roman Catholic clergy, who did not even seek to profit by it, as it was almost impossible, without producing a commotion, to call in question the rights of possession of numerous estates. Indeed,

Attempt of the Roman Catholic clergy to recover their lost churches, tithes, and properties.

several rich families, having returned into the pale of the Roman Catholic church, were by no means disposed to part with the riches they had acquired by having at one time deserted it.

Zamoyski's attempt to improve the form of electing the king fails through the opposition of the reigning sovereign and the bishops.

In the Diet of 1589, Zamoyski made a motion to establish a form of electing the king, by which foreign and domestic intrigues would have been prevented. The terms of it did not declare that the king should be a Roman Catholic, and they excluded the Austrian family from the throne. This project was opposed by the bishops as well as by the king, who had a great leaning to the Austrian house; besides they chiefly insisted on a declaration that the king should be a *Roman* Catholic; Zamoyski, on the other hand, insisted on the retention of the word "Catholic," without the addition of the word "*Roman*." This scheme, therefore, which would have been an improvement of the constitution in a most important point, and would have prevented the disorders occasioned by the turbulent manner in which monarchs were elected, being altogether opposed by the bishops, was unfortunately abandoned, but the condition that the sovereign should be a Roman Catholic was not established until 1659.

The Roman Catholic synod of Gniesno, in 1589, passes severe resolutions against heresy, which

The Roman Catholic synod assembled at Gniesno in 1589, adopted very decisive resolutions against the opponents of the church. The confederation of 1573 was strongly condemned. A

resolution was passed to prohibit the opening in towns of Protestant churches and schools. But the most important enactment of that synod is, that zealous adherents to Rome should alone be elected to the throne of Poland, and that the archbishops should not dare to proclaim the election of a candidate whose devotion to Rome was doubtful. That resolution was confirmed by a bull of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, who even increased the severity of its provisions. According to this bull, a supporter of a heretic monarch was to be excommunicated, and neither he, nor any of his descendants, to be admitted to ecclesiastical dignities. It prohibited bishops from shewing any favour to heretics, even in worldly relations; and decreed excommunication against all who should participate in any act contrary to the authority of the church and the Pope. As, however, ecclesiastical laws promulged against the abettors of heresy and heretics could not produce any effect, it became necessary to employ for that purpose more effectual means, and the Protestant church of Cracow was again destined to become the object of Romanist vengeance.

are confirmed
by a bull of
the Pope.

On the 23d May 1591, a mob led on by the students of the university, and instigated by the Jesuits, attacked the above-mentioned church,*

Destruction of
the Protestant
church of
Cracow by a
mob.

* Heydenstein says that the riot was occasioned by some Scotch, who had at that time a considerable congregation at

Protestant assemblies, to oppose Roman Catholic persecution by legal means.

and after some resistance, destroyed and burned it. This violence, as well as an attempt to enact a similar scene of horror at Vilna, spread alarm among all the Protestants of Poland, who foresaw their speedy ruin if such crimes were to remain unpunished. They convened a synod at Chmielnik, in order to deliberate on the means of defending their franchises ; but they abstained from all violent resolutions, and sent a deputation to the monarch, in order to represent to him the violation of the laws of the country and of the liberties of the nation. This deputation, composed of twenty-six persons, under the presidency of Plaza, starost of Lubaczow, represented to the monarch, in a respectful manner, their grievances. Sigismund promised to punish the guilty, to maintain religious liberty, and gave his authorization for the rebuilding of the destroyed church ; but at the same time he strongly expressed his disapprobation of the assembly of Chmielnik, as one contrary to his authority ; and also prohibited a general meeting which the Protestants intended

Cracow as well as in several other towns of Poland, and who having commenced a public disputation about religion, which ended in a quarrel, killed some of their adversaries. In such a case the aggression would have been on the side of the Protestants. Skarga also accuses the Protestants. No other historian, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, mentions that circumstance. Thuanus positively declares that it was produced by the instigation of the Jesuits.

to convene at Radom. This interview, instead of pacifying the minds of men, increased the general irritation; and the Protestants, notwithstanding the royal prohibition, which was contrary to the constitution of the country, which allowed such meetings, convened a large assembly at Radom. This assembly was numerous attended, and composed of many influential persons; and it carefully avoided every appearance of sedition, of which it was accused by the Romanist party. It resolved to obtain at the next Diet a confirmation of their rights, and the maintenance of the confederation of 1573. A general wish was also expressed, on this occasion, that the next Diet should fix some places wherein the Protestants might publicly exercise their religious worship in perfect security. The Romanist party, however, fully obtained their object in respect of the Protestant church of Cracow; the congregation dared not rebuild it, and transferred their place of worship to the village of Alexandrowitze, as a place of greater security. The violence hitherto directed against the Protestant church of Cracow was now turned towards the members of its congregation, and the house of John Kolay, one of the principal citizens of Cracow, was attacked and plundered by the mob on the 7th May 1593. The municipality itself reported this event to the king, with full evidence of the crime, and requested that security might be given to person and property. The king,

Attack of a
Protestant in-
dividual at Cra-
cow unpunish-
ed.

Fruitless attempts of the Jesuits to destroy the Bohemian church of Posnania.

however, made them no answer, and by allowing the rioters to escape with impunity, gave proof that he was not displeased with their proceedings. The Jesuits of Posnania, wishing to imitate the scenes of Cracow, sent their pupils to attack the church of the Bohemian brethren, in 1593 ; but, as the mob did not join them, they were obliged to desist from the enterprize, and to content themselves with threats and imprecations. This affair was brought before the Diet of Warsaw, and the influence of the Protestants being still sufficiently strong to enact, notwithstanding the greatest opposition from the Roman clergy, a law which decreed penalties against the disturbers of the public peace, the Bohemian brethren enjoyed a few years of tranquillity.*

In the province of Prussia, which had a separate constitution, and where the royal authority was less restricted than in Poland, Roman Catholic reaction was manifested in a more decisive manner. Sigismund passing through that province on a journey to Sweden, in 1593, ordered that the principal churches of Thorn and Elbing, where Lutheranism was dominant, should be restored to the Roman Catholic worship. The inhabitants pleaded in vain the long possession which they had had of them, and that their religious liberties were secured by law.

* Vide Lukaszewicz, page 139.

Thorn requested to be at least free from the presence of the Jesuits, but could not obtain its suit. As resistance was impossible they submitted, but became deeply alienated from their loyalty to the crown of Poland.* The town of Dantzic was also ordered to restore the church of the Virgin Mary to the Roman Catholic worship; this created a bloody riot, in which many were killed and wounded: and if the senate of the city had not adopted energetic measures in order to restore tranquillity, it is probable that the infuriated populace would have murdered all the Roman Catholics. This commotion induced the king to suspend his measures for the restoration of Romanism at Dantzic, and the rioters were not even prosecuted. The king was more successful in 1595, and the church in question was restored to the Romanists. Dantzic petitioned the Diet for redress, but in vain.

We must not omit to mention the opinions which the leading organs of the Romanist party proclaimed on the occasion of the deplorable events which we have described in this chapter. The Jesuit Skarga, the most eloquent preacher that Poland had ever produced, who enjoyed great

* *Elbinga civitas prescriptione regis adacta Ecclesiam Parochialem ritui Catholico restituit. Sed altâ mente illâ offensâ reposâ a rege et regno Poloniæ alienatio animos civium invasit.*—Piasecki.

favour with king Sigismund the Third, published a pamphlet* on the occasion of the destruction of the Protestant church at Cracow, in which he not only excused, but highly approved of that proceeding. He begins in a high flown style, maintaining that he speaks by the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, *ex instinctu ut puto Spiritus Dei loquor*. He then proceeds to exculpate the students of the university from having begun the attack on the Roman Catholics, and thanks Heaven for having punished the guilty. This attempt to exculpate his party, by throwing the guilt of the first aggression on the opposite one, would have been but a natural consequence of pleading a cause; but Skarga justified the act itself, although he disapproved of the manner in which it was done, as being accidental and prohibited. He maintained that what existed unlawfully, could be destroyed without injustice; and that the Protestant church did not exist legally, because the local bishops, to whom, by the authority of God, judgment about the truth of religion exclusively belongs, had not authorized its erection. According to that doctrine, no religious establishment, which was not approved by the Roman Catholic clergy, could be lawful. The destruction of the heretical church

* *Adnotatio ad Evangelicos et alios A catholicos, ex parte fani Cracoviensi eversi, &c.*

was necessary, because it gave occasion to continual commotions. This should have been done long before by the public authority, but it had been delayed from fear of disturbance, until infants had done the deed, or rather Divine power had acted through them, for the salvation of souls. The innovators had despoiled churches, expelled the true priests, usurped their incomes, abolished the tithes, destroyed the jurisdiction of the church, and increased their fortunes by sacrilege. This same Skarga went so far as to commend as an example worthy of imitation, Lewis the Ninth of France, who ordered the tongues of blasphemers to be cut out, and to say that all those who approved of religious liberty were blasphemers. It was not only in this pamphlet that Skarga recommended the abolition of heresy by every possible means, but all his sermons, particularly those which he preached before the king and the assembled diet, were full of the most violent and bitter invectives against the Protestants, expressed in the most eloquent language; and there is no doubt that this celebrated preacher contributed greatly to the triumph of his church in Poland.

CHAPTER V.

SYNOD OF THORN, HELD BY THE UNITED PROTESTANT
CONFESSIONS.

Dissensions
amongst the
Protestants,

THE dangers which threatened the Protestant cause in Poland were daily increasing. Instead of opposing the Romanist reaction, which was growing bolder and bolder, the Protestants, torn on one side by the dogmatical intolerance of the Lutherans, and on the other by the daring speculations of the anti-Trinitarians, subversive of revelation itself, were divided amongst themselves. Gericius having written to several German academies against the union of Sandomir, collected many of their answers, in which all the Lutherans who adhered to this union were declared false brethren and Samaritans. Excited by this influence, Gliczner,* who had for a long time remained steady in his adherence to the union of

* Erasmus Gliczner, who may be considered as the most eminent of the Lutheran divines of Poland, was born about 1530 at Znin, a place in Grand Poland. He studied at the school of Goldberg, in Silesia, which enjoyed at that time a great reputation, after which he visited several universities of

Sandomir, began to waver, and published in Polish, in 1594, the Lutheran confession of 1530, which was in opposition to the consensus of

Germany. He became known by his polemics with John Caper, who, from a superintendent of the Lutheran churches of Grand Poland, passed to the reformed confession, which he afterwards deserted for anti-Trinitarian doctrines. Gliczner wrote against him a treatise on the Eucharist, and another in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, both in Latin. He was for some time pastor of Thorn, whence he returned again to Grand Poland, but we are unable to ascertain the precise date at which he was elected superintendent of that province. We have had ample opportunity of shewing the active part which he took at several synods. In 1592 he settled at Strasburg, a town of Polish Prussia, where he became domestic chaplain to Sophia Dzialynski, lady to the grand cup-bearer of Poland, and sister to the great Zamoyiski. He died at the above-mentioned place, 1603. Although his conduct in respect to the union of Sandomir was often wavering, he alone it was who prevented the Lutherans from separating from it during his life-time, for after his death the Lutheran pastors refused to assist at the synods of other Protestant confessions. His principal works, besides those we have already mentioned, are *Commentarius in Epistolam Pauli ad Philemonem*, Gradisci (Grodzisko, a little town in Grand Poland), 1572, in Polish. *Chronicon vitæ, doctrinæ et operum Jesu Christi, ex quatuor Evangelistis collecta*, ibid. 1579, also in Polish. *Appellatio seu apologia confederationis Regni Poloniae inter dissidentes de religione. Regiomonti*, 1598, in Polish.

N.B. It was customary, at that time, to give a Latin title to works written in Polish.

Answer to the Jesuits on certain questions about the church and purgatory, Grodzisko, 1579, in Polish. *Chronicon Regum Poloniae*, Thorn, 1597, in Latin.

Sandomir. This produced a difference between him and the Bohemian brethren, particularly their superintendent, Symon Theophilus Turnowski, a division which menaced the Protestants of Grand Poland, when the Jesuits were particularly active, with most deplorable consequences.

The principal Protestants assembled at the Diet of Cracow 1595, resolve to convene, in the same year, a general synod, in order to strengthen the union of Sandomir.

These circumstances induced the principal Protestant noblemen assembled at the Diet of Cracow, in February 1595, as well as the chief ministers of the three Protestant confessions, to convoke a general synod at Thorn, on the 21st August of the same year. During the same Diet, Andreas Leszczynski, palatine of Brest, in Cujavia, succeeded in arranging the differences between Turnowski and Gliczner, on the following conditions :—1. They both were to forgive and forget their mutual offences. 2. Gliczner, as superintendent of the Lutheran churches, was to induce Gericius to accept and subscribe to the consensus of Sandomir. 3. All works which were written on both sides for and against the above-mentioned consensus, were to be suppressed. 4. Neither side was to publish any works, except in conformity to the 4th resolution of the synod of Vlodislav, 1583.* 5. The consensus of Sandomir, published by Turnowski at Thorn, 1572, was to be submitted to the censure of the next ensuing

* Vide page 80.

general synod. 6. The confession of Augsburg was to be published a second time by Gliczner, after a revision by the seniors of the other confessions; and the preface then in use, which was hostile to the Bohemian and Helvetian churches, was to be omitted. 7. Should any misunderstanding arise between these two superintendents, they were to be arranged in a fraternal manner by arbitrators. 8. Both the superintendents were to consent to a general synod, when the noblemen should have decided upon holding one.

The general synod which assembled at Thorn on the 21st August 1595, was one of the most memorable Protestant convocations in Poland, and we shall therefore give our readers a detailed account of its proceedings, which will convey to them an idea of the manner in which the deliberations of such assemblies were conducted in Poland. It was composed of more than seventy clergymen of the Helvetian, Bohemian, and Augustan confessions, and of a great number of nobles from Grand and Little Poland, Lithuania, Polish Prussia, Red and White Russia, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine; so that all the provinces of the then vast Polish empire were represented at that synod. On the above-mentioned day, all the members of that synod assembled in the Lutheran church of St. Mary, where, after divine service, they elected as a

Members of the synod assembled from all parts of the Polish dominions.

lay director, Stanislaw Orzelski,* starost of Radziejow, who was chiefly instrumental in convoking the synod, and for his assistant, Andreas Rzeczycki, chamberlain of Lublin, both following the Helvetian church; as clerical directors, Erasmus Glicznar, superintendent of the Lutheran churches in Grand Poland, Theophilus Turnowski, superintendent of the Bohemian churches in the same province, and Francis Jezierski, superintendent of the Helvetian churches in Little Poland. Notaries of the synod were nominated, from the laymen Christopher Pawlowski, and from the clergy Daniel Mikolajewski, minister of the Helvetian church at Radziejow. The same day, in the afternoon, the clergy assembled, and resolved, that during the continuance of the synod, some ministers should be appointed to preach daily at six or seven in the morning; for which purpose some of the most

* Orzelski was a man of great learning and influence in his country. He was frequently employed in public service, having been elected a member of several diets, at one of which, that of 1582, he presided as marshal. Janocki, a Roman Catholic author, applies to him Horace's verse, *Integer vita, scelerisque purus*. Orzelski described in Polish the events of the interregnum of 1573 and 1574, and the same Janocki calls this composition *memoratissimum opus*. It is indeed a work of the greatest importance, but has never yet been published.—Vide page 48, note.

distinguished amongst them offered their services.

The first meeting took place on the 22d August, when, after divine service, it was resolved to begin the business by receiving the various messages addressed to the synod. The first of these messages was that of the Protestant nobility and clergy of Lithuania, in which these two orders stated, that being unable, on account of the great distance, to take part, as a body, in the deliberation of the synod, they had sent delegates, furnished with extensive powers, which were submitted to the synod. The second message was from Constantine, prince of Ostrog, palatine of Kiof, who followed the Greek church. The third was from the nobles professing the tenets of the same church, and inhabiting the palatinate of Russia, Volhynia, and other provinces; they offered to the Protestants their assistance, and expressed a wish to unite with them. The fourth was from the nobility of the palatinate of Russia, professing the reformed religion, and assembled at a local synod at Prochnica. The fifth was from the Protestant nobility of the palatinate of Sandomir, assembled at the provincial synod of Ivanovitze. The sixth came from the superintendent and the chief nobles of the reformed religion in the districts of Zator and Osviecim. The seventh from Stanislaw Gostomski, palatine of Rava. The eighth from Christopher Zenowicz, palatine of Brest, in

Various
messages
addressed to
the synod.

Lithuania. The ninth from Nicholas Monivid Dorohostayski, palatine of Polock.* The tenth from Alexander, prince Prunski, castellan of Troki. The eleventh from Nicholaus Ostrorog, a nobleman in the palatinate of Russia. The twelfth from the palatinates of Lublin and Belz. The thirteenth from the palatinates of Cujavia and Inovroclav. When all these messages had been heard, Bykowski, castellan of Lenczyca and delegate of the king, entered the assembly, and said : “Gentlemen, I do not know for what purpose and with whose authorization you here hold this assembly. We brothers† have it in suspicion. Know that I have a writ of his majesty the king, by which I am instructed, that wherever you would hold your assembly, I should appear there, and admonish you to abandon your undertaking, and not to incur the displeasure of his majesty ; because it is apprehended that this assembly ought not to be held against the person of his royal majesty, and to the detriment of the republic.” After having concluded his oration, he delivered the king’s letter, which was read aloud. Bykowski then left the assembly, having declared

Attempts made by the royal deputy, and several other Romanists, to disperse the synod.

* A Lithuanian grandee, celebrated for his various accomplishments and learning ; he is the author, amongst others, of a work on horses, published in Polish, under the title “Hippica.”

† Brothers was the common manner, amongst the Polish nobles, of designating their fellow-citizens belonging to the same class.

that he should return on the following day to receive an answer. Soon afterwards entered a nobleman, pretending to be a delegate from the palatinate of Culm, and protested against the assembly; after which entered a deputy of Hieronymus Rozrazewski, bishop of Cujavia, who likewise protested against the synod, maintaining that it was illegal, that it was opening the door to internal commotions, and that it was dangerous to the Catholic religion, as well as to the welfare of the state. Similar protestations were made by delegates from the palatinates of Plock and Pomerania. The assembly answered to all these messages, that the Protestants made no innovation by convoking their own meetings. The Polish Protestants now assembled, as well as formerly on several occasions, were far from conspiring against their country, as they were unjustly accused of doing by the Roman Catholics; they loved their country and were its devoted children; and not only did they not wish to injure it, but that they were always ready to spill their blood for its sake, of which a sufficient proof was given by their brethren of the Ukraine and Podolia, who had intended to join the synod, but having heard that the Tartars had appeared on the frontiers of Poland, had preferred to hasten to the defence of their country, instead of deliberating about the welfare of their religion. The reply to the deputy of the bishop of Cujavia was as fol-

lows: "That although the synod has no necessity of rendering an account of its proceedings to the bishop, as the persons who compose that synod do not belong to his jurisdiction; yet, and only to satisfy the curiosity of the bishop, the synod informs him, that the cause and object of its convocation are as follows: 1. To remove every misunderstanding, if there be any, amongst the Protestants of Poland, to come to an understanding about some articles of faith, and to confirm the consensus of Sandomir. 2. To deliberate on the means of maintaining the peace which was guaranteed to the Protestants by the constitutions (enactments of the Diet) and the *Pacta conventa*,* because they were continually exposed to great grievances and injuries on the part of the Roman Catholics, such as the destruction of churches, every kind of aggression and robbery, and even the violation of graves, by the disinterment and ejection of dead bodies."

Before the opening of the deliberations of the synod, the delegates of the Prussian towns were invited to take a part in them, but they excused themselves on account of the prohibition signified to them by the royal deputy. After which Orzelski, director of the synod, addressed

* *Pacta conventa* was the name by which the articles of the constitution, which the monarch swore at his accession to maintain, were called.

the assembly by an oration, in which, having expressed the object of the convocation, he declared that two important objects were to occupy it, *viz.*: 1. The renewal, confirmation, and consolidation of the consensus of Sandomir, and the improvement of the discipline and government of the church; and, 2. The invention of means for preventing the manifold injuries and persecutions to which the Polish Protestants were exposed, chiefly through the influence of the Jesuits.

Twofold object
of the synod.

After this address the members of the assembly left the church and adjourned to a large hall belonging to the school, where the laymen took place on one side, and the clergy on the other. E. Gliczner began the psalm: "Our help comes from the Lord," which being sung, all present said a prayer on their bended knees.

The director having recapitulated the chief subjects for deliberation, moved that the consensus of Sandomir, as the principal foundation of the union of the Protestant confessions, should be read, and that if any thing contrary to that union should be detected, it should be abolished. This motion was seconded by Leszczynski, palatine of Brest of Cujavia. Ovzelski then began to read that document, but was opposed by Gericus, who maintained that the consensus of Sandomir was not in harmony with itself, as the framers of it spoke in the title of the differences existing between the confessions that concluded it, and

Opposition of
Gericus.

maintain in the preamble that the same confessions agreed amongst themselves in every thing. Ovzel-ski answered this observation by stating, that the members of the synod of Sandomir knew well and acknowledged the difference of the three confessions (the Lutheran, Bohemian, and Helvetian), but that they did not consider that difference so important as to destroy their fraternal union. Gericius required stronger proofs that these confessions agreed among themselves, and demanded that the matter should be again strictly investigated ; “ because,” said he, “ the divines of these confessions abroad teach and write in a different manner, and accuse each other of errors.” Leszczynski rejoined, that the Polish Protestants had nothing to do with foreign controversy, and that controversy itself had been silenced in Poland by the consensus of Sandomir. Ovzel-ski added, that the difference of doctrines in the three confessions was entirely removed in Poland ; that foreign controversy in that respect was by no means new, but that internal disputes were terminated by the consensus of Sandomir, and he therefore requested that the consensus might be now read, “ in order,” said he, “ that as it was brought to bear, with great pains and by the most eminent men, it may not, after so many years, be subjected to doubt, and we may learn whether there is any thing in the church of God which is opposed to the union of Sandomir, and whether it is not possible to

find out some means of strengthening that union." Erasmus Gliczner then stated the reasons which had brought about the consensus of Sandomir; and maintained, that it had taken place in consequence of the virulent writings published by the ministers of the three confessions against each other; that the Lutheran ministers, considering the union to be useful, had acceded to it, not from motives of worldly gain or fear, but had acted according to the precepts of God, and in imitation of the example of the Apostles, and that custom of the primitive church, whereby the holy fathers silenced at synods, in a fraternal manner, all differences of minor importance, and also of Martin Luther, who had agreed at Marburg with the followers of the Helvetian confession, and given them his hand. "I have scrupulously adhered to that union," continued Gliczner, "and I have endeavoured to maintain it in all its integrity. But now some persons attack it in an open manner, particularly in Lithuania; for instance, Volanus, who inserted in the preface of his reply to the Jesuit Skarga, the following words: *in that book (the consensus of Sandomir), the presence of the body of Christ is denied*. The lately deceased minister, Paul Gilowski, also published a catechism, which contains positions that destroy our union with the Calvinists." Popowski, minister of the Helvetian confession at Vilna, answered the objection which Gliczner made to the followers of

Altercation
between Eras-
mus Gliczner
and some
ministers of
the Helvetian
confession.

that confession, by the question, whether the ministers of the Helvetian confession were not at liberty to expound the doctrine about the Lord's Supper? Gorayski, a nobleman of the same confession, insisted that the consensus of Sandomir should be read, because it was only by that means that every member of the synod could be enabled to give his opinion about it. Gliczner asserted once more, that many of the Helvetian confession were destroying the consensus, by teaching and writing. This occasioned great discontent amongst the members of that confession, which was increasing, when Rey, chamberlain of Lublin, desiring to put a stop to it, said: "We have assembled here, not to discuss which doctrine about the Lord's Supper is the truest, but in order to unite more closely, and to strengthen the union of Sandomir." After some conversation, it was agreed, that the clerical members of the synod should give their opinions touching the consensus, and all of them, except Gericus, agreed in confirming it, and the more readily, that Valentinus Curio, minister of the Helvetian confession at Radziejow, read to the assembly an approbation of that consensus, signed by the professors of the universities of Wittemberg, Leipsic, and Heidelberg. Notwithstanding all this, Gliczner began again to praise the confession of Augsburg, and extol it above all others, thereby provoking a new dispute with the followers of the Helvetian confession,

which was silenced by the director of the synod, who, after having recommended the confirmation of the consensus of Sandomir, put the question, "whether it was disapproved of by any member of the synod?" This question met with an unanimous answer, that they confirmed it, and a committee composed of ministers of the three confessions, and six lay members, was appointed, to induce Gericius to accept and sign the consensus. Thus terminated the labours of the first day.

The second meeting of the synod took place on the 23d August: when, after the usual service, an audience was given to Gaspar Luskowski, delegate of prince Constantine Ostrogski, palatine of Kiof, the chief of the followers of the Eastern church in Poland, and one of the most, if not the most powerful of the grandees of that country.

The letter of prince Ostrogski, addressed to the synod, expressed a wish for union with the Protestants, and offered assistance, in case it should be required, in support of the liberties of the Antiromanists by force of arms.* Luskowski added, verbally, that prince Ostrogski having been informed that the Roman Catholic clergy meditated some attempts against the liberties of the Protestants and Greeks, guaranteed by the laws of the country, addressed to the vice chancellor a letter,

Message of prince Ostrogski, the leader of the followers of the Eastern church in Poland.

* As this letter gives a faithful picture of the position of the followers of the Greek church in Poland, as well as of their fears,

in which he admonished him, as a senator, to represent to the king that such proceedings being

fears, hopes, and wishes, we give our reader a translation of it. " ' A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid, says the voice of the Lord, neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.' It is impossible that you, gentlemen, should be ignorant that I have always stood by the Protestants, accepting your *Agenda* (book of the service) for my own, without having that cause which I have now, and which has been given to me by some heedless clergymen, who have put on our necks what they had resolved cunningly, secretly, without any synod, or even our consent.(a) Now since such a great and important cause has been given to us, we have ten times stronger motives to stand by you, as we are much more distant from the Romanists than from you, and therefore we must act in common with you, and your injury must become ours ; more particularly as it concerns the maintenance of the rights and liberties, not only of you, but of all the Christian confessions (in Poland) ; for the gentlemen Romanists and Papists having assumed the name of Catholics, which word they have nowhere in their language, but having taken from the Greek our title and word Catholic, and usurped it from us Greeks, have appropriated it to themselves, and called themselves Catholics. They persuade his royal Majesty, a holy, pious, and learned monarch (b), not to maintain in its integrity the confederation (that of 1573), calling it a sin. They do not consider that it is a much greater sin
not

(a) He meant by this, the union with Rome, which we shall describe in our next chapter.

(b) The manner in which he speaks of the notoriously bigotted Sigismund the Third, proves the great respect which was paid to royalty in Poland.

contrary to the confederation of Warsaw, 1573, and the Pacta Conventa, ought not to be allowed without the consent of the states.

not to keep the *sacrosancta* of an oath, after having once given it to God, which not only Christian sovereigns, but even heathens keep, and those who do not pay the forfeit of their lives or realms. If, therefore, his royal Majesty, our gracious sovereign, should not, which God forbid, keep the oath he has sworn to us, we must despair of our rights and liberties. I, therefore, who have always been friendly to you gentlemen Protestants, am now wishing you so well, that I take your injury for my own, your fall for my own, and in case, which may God forbid, of any violence to you, I will consider it as an injury done to myself, for I will make common cause with you, although I do not apprehend that his royal Majesty, a christian, pious, and just monarch, will, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, offer to us, his loyal servants and subjects, compulsion and violence. For as he could do nothing by violence and compulsion even in the kingdom of his ancestors, for it was a Protestant minister, and not a Popish priest, who crowned his majesty king of Sweden, so much the more will he be obliged to maintain with us, a free people, in this kingdom of Poland, things as he has found them, and as they were in the time of his predecessors. For my part, I know that we who confess the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are all the same, and that we are all of the same religion, and that the difference exists only in some ceremonies, even as the ancient holy and apostolic church of Jerusalem has twelve altars, and being under the rule of heathens, suffers them all in one temple, at the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this the rather, that in the kingdom of Poland, where there is such a number of religions and sects, they ought to be tolerated, that every spirit may praise the Lord according to his conscience. I am in good hopes about his royal majesty, our gracious sovereign, that if we make good opposition in this matter he will not offer us any violence, because I alone can
bring

Renewed
attempt of the
royal commis-
sioners to
disturb the
synod.

Luszkowski had not yet finished delivering his message, when Bykowski, castellan of Lenczyca ; Jelski, castellan of Dobrzyn ; and Svientoslawski,

bring to your assistance, if not twenty, at least fifteen thousand men. I do not know whether the gentlemen Papists, I mean their priests, could muster such a number, if, which God forbid, leaving the enemies of the holy cross, they wished to offer violence to us, their brethren, who are faithful, and who live as their ancestors did, in concord and good-will. There are also many Lithuanian gentlemen, and a crowd of others, who would be with us and for us. I also hope from you, gentlemen, our faithful Christian brethren, that knowing this our heart, which we offer to you, you will act towards us in a steady, faithful, brotherly, and Christian manner, and that you will consider all our wrongs as your own ; that you will give us every kind of assistance and advice, and send your delegates to our synods ; in short, that you will shew us the same love and good-will which we offer you. We send you, also, the articles which some of our clergy have secretly and treacherously concocted without our knowledge, bringing us under the rule of the enemy of the Son of God, submitting us to the domination of Anti-Christ, and removing us from Christ, who says : ‘ I am the way, the truth, and the life.’ They wish also to impose upon us a new almanack, which we are determined to oppose, because if, which God forbid, we should concede to them the smallest point, they would extend their pretensions. Therefore, although this article (the almanack) has nothing to do with faith and salvation, still it is pernicious to allow the smallest alteration ; but we submit it to your judgment, that you may give us your advice upon that subject.” After having made some absurd objections against the Gregorian calendar, the letter concludes with the following sensible remarks : “ It is not well that many among you, from motives of piety, occupy themselves only with spiritual things, and neglect temporal affairs, such as going to war, wearing arms, assisting at the elections, and becoming nuncios to the Diet, and

nuncio of the last-named district, entered the assembly, and in the name of the king declared it to be illegal, because none except the monarch had the right of calling assemblies together. This declaration was answered by Stanislav Szafraniec, palatine of Cracow, who said that the assembling of Protestant synods was no innovation ; that their fidelity to the country was proven ; that there was nothing extraordinary in their having assembled a synod without inviting the Roman Catholics to it, as they would not deliberate about affairs which might interest the king, the state, or the Roman Catholics, but only concerning their own churches. After this Ovzelski, the director of the

and deputies to the tribunals. The Diet of Cracow has experienced it (the bad effects of it), of which all those who were present there may give a more ample relation, and so have the tribunals. (a) It is not only myself and many people in this province, but also many of our brethren in the provinces and territories of Podolia, Volhynia, Premysl, Leopold, White Russia, and Lithuania, who agree to this in just alarm (because it matters little about the body, property, and life, but much about conscience and salvation of the soul), and they wish, not only to hold an assembly, but also to communicate with you about it, to make representations to the king, and to counteract it at the elections. It appears to me, also, that you, gentlemen, considering the approaching times, which are growing very difficult for us, should not reject and repel from you men of other sects, neither abuse your own, but rather pray to God that you may be permitted to praise him in unity with us," &c. &c. &c.

(a) Vide page 50.

synod, read aloud the answer given to the king by the synod, which being delivered to the commissioners, they withdrew. Luskowski then resumed his message, and delivered to the synod a letter from the nobility of the Greek confession, inhabiting Red and White Russia, Podolia, Volhynia, the Ukraine, &c. They complained of persecution on the part of the Romanists, but particularly of the secret intrigues of some Greek clergymen, who wished "to subject their church to the Papal yoke." This message being delivered, the members of the synod resumed their deliberations. They commenced by reading their approbation of the consensus of Sandomir, made by the synod of Posnania, 1570 ; after which, all the ministers present declared that the Augustan, Helvetian, and Bohemian confessions agreed in the principal articles of Christian doctrine, such as the Scriptures, God, the person of Christ, God-man, the providence of God, sin, free-will, law and the gospels, justification, faith, the universal church and Christ its head, the sacraments, their number, object and mode of reception, the state of the soul after death, and finally, the resurrection and eternal life. As to what concerns other articles, and particularly that of the Lord's supper, about which the Helvetian and Bohemian confessions differed from that of Augsburg, they declared that these also had been settled by the consensus of Sandomir. The same day the committee ap-

pointed to persuade Gericius into accepting and signing the consensus of Sandomir, vainly endeavoured to overcome his obstinacy ; all the arguments, and representations of the necessity of a union in order to prevent the impending danger, which threatened all the Protestant confessions alike, remained unavailing.

The third meeting of the synod took place on the 24th of August. After the usual service, the deliberations were opened by Symon Theophilus Turnowski, who read the articles of the consensus of Sandomir respecting church discipline, the ordination of the ministers, &c. &c., in order that the synod might consider whether any reforms were required in those points. The same day the commission appointed to persuade Gericius to desist from his opposition gave its report; and the chairman, Gorayski, declared in a long speech, that Gericius, instigated by foreign divines, refused to accept the provisions of the consensus of Sandomir; that although the opinions of learned foreigners were not to be despised, it was wrong to make light of the opinions of such eminent men as were those assembled at this synod, and who were better acquainted with the state of the Polish church and its wants than foreigners; that, after all, it was of minor consequence whether Gericius would or would not sign the consensus; but that it was much more important that it should be assented to by the towns

of Prussia. "It is therefore necessary," continued he, "to inquire of them whether they will unite with us, for they must see in what danger we are placed, and what we are suffering. The Romanists are expelling us from the senate, depriving us of dignities and offices, so that we are becoming foreigners and exiles in our own country. The consensus of Sandomir has a two-fold object: it unites us in the church of God, and prevents scandal; and it unites us, in a political respect, under common oppression and danger, so that every one may assist the other according to his power." Agreeably to this opinion, a deputation was appointed to inquire from the delegates of the Prussian towns, what was their opinion about the consensus of Sandomir, and whether they would sign it? The rest of the day was spent in deliberations concerning the manner of treating Gericius, who, afraid of being compelled to sign the consensus, secretly left the town.

Gericius persists in his opposition, and secretly leaves the town.

The fourth meeting of the synod was on the 25th August. After the usual preliminaries, the conduct of Gericius was discussed, and, after some opposition on the part of Erasmus Gliczner, it was resolved, by a large majority, to excommunicate him. A formula of such excommunication was signed, but its execution was suspended till the beginning of the next year, in order to give him time for repentance. The same day the depu-

The synod resolves to excommunicate him.

tation appointed to confer with the delegates of the Prussian towns presented their report, which stated, that the delegates had promised to represent that matter to their constituents, and would meanwhile induce the Lutheran clergy of their province to abstain from preaching against the consensus of Sandomir. This report being delivered, the synod entered into the discussion of the second proposition, *viz.* the means of preventing the persecution which the Protestants began to experience in several parts of Poland. There were read about forty complaints, coming from different parts of Poland, against Romanists, and the Jesuits in particular, detailing the manifold and grievous injuries which, contrary to the laws of the country, were inflicted upon Protestants. It was resolved, that these grievances should be represented at the next Diet to the king and the state.

The fifth and last meeting took place on the 28th August. After the usual preliminary service, the director of the synod read the answer to the king; and Theop. Turnowski, the amended enactments of the synod. The several enactments and resolutions of the synod were signed, and general seniors, as well as deputies to the king*,

* As delegates to the monarch were chosen, Andreas Leszczynski, palatine of Brest Cujavia; Stanislaw Szafraniec, palatine of Cracow; Andreas Mencinski, castellan of Vilna; Andreas Szafraniec, starost of Lelov; Andreas Zarembo, and
some

to the chancellor, to the palatine of Kiof, prince Ostrogski, and to several palatinates, were chosen. Many speeches appropriate to the occasion were delivered, after which all the members of the synod assembled in the church, to render thanksgiving to the Almighty for the happy termination of their labours, and, after singing the eighty-fourth Psalm and the Ambrosian Hymn, the assembly separated.

Summary of
the resolutions
of the synod.

The resolutions of this memorable synod were embodied in the eighteen following articles.

1. The consensus of Sandomir of 1570, and the enactments of the subsequent general synods of Cracow, Piotrkow, and Vladislav are confirmed.

2. Every minister in the Polish empire must not only possess and read that consensus, but conform himself to all its provisions, and govern according to it the congregation entrusted to his care.

3. The same consensus is to be read in partial synods, and at the most numerous assemblies of the congregation, and it must be investigated at the same time whether the members of that congregation regulate their conduct by its provisions.

4. No one can become a minister, who will not

some other noblemen and clergymen. This delegation having arrived at Cracow, where the monarch was then residing, could not even obtain an audience.

sign the consensus of Sandomir, and conform to it.

5. Each clerical senior must have a book of the consensus, in which the ministers of his district are to subscribe their names.

6. In development of the eighth article of the synod of Posnania, 1570, it is ordained, that the superintendents of the three confessions shall assemble every year, at an appointed time and place, and there meet the superintendent of the Helvetian confession of Lithuania, in order to deliberate with him the affairs of the church. They are also, according to the ancient custom, to be present at the Diets, and to consult with the senators and nuncios of the anti-Romanist confessions touching the affairs of the church, and the convocation of general synods.

7. This article treats exclusively of church discipline, and contains several penalties against its transgressors. It prescribes also, amongst others, that parents having children in Socinian schools, shall take them thence in the course of seven weeks from that time; that nobody shall read Socinian books without the permission of ecclesiastical authority; finally, that all those who have rejected the expression "Holy Trinity," shall be excluded from the church of God.

8. Although the members of one confession are not prohibited from visiting the churches of another, according to the convenience of time

and place, nevertheless, if persons leading an ungodly life wish, in order to avoid the admonitions of their own pastors, and to have more liberty of committing sin, to pass under the care of the pastor of another confession, they must on no account be received by that pastor.

9. No minister or senior shall receive, under penalties prescribed by the synod of Cracow, young men, pupils, or any other persons promoted by ministers of other congregations, unless they be provided with necessary testimonials.

10. The signature of all the clerical superintendents is not absolutely requisite at the meetings of the general synods, and least of all of such as neglect their duty, by absenting themselves from them.

11. A general school is to be established in a central point of the country, upper and primary schools in the districts.

12. The subscription for the support of the schools is to be raised, according to the resolutions of the synods of Piotrkow and Vlodislav, *i. e.* that every landowner is to deposit with the collectors appointed for each district one Polish florin,* for each of his tenants, besides a contribution for grounds farmed by themselves. These monies will be employed for the support of a

* The value of a florin at that time was about 4s. 3d. $\frac{1}{2}$ present English money.

general school, and such primary ones as may want sufficient means.

13. It is the duty of the lay seniors to check all improper proceedings and acts of the members of the congregations; to promote good works, and a pious mode of life; to prevent all discord and quarrels; to judge and pacify differences; in short, to further and maintain peace and brotherly love.

14. It is likewise the duty of such seniors to keep a vigilant watch, that the members of the congregation entrusted to their care perform all the duties of Christians, and chiefly that they do not take from their neighbours usurious interest, which is prohibited by the word of God. Those who transgress this precept must be admonished by the lay senior and the minister; and if they do not amend, they are, in a congregation, or at a synod, to be publicly excluded from the communion of the faithful. The same rule is applicable to all those who produce any kind of scandal in the church of God.

15. Considering the dangers to which the church of God is unceasingly exposed, it is resolved, that the Divine wrath shall be propitiated by prayer, fasts, and mortification of the flesh in all the Protestant churches, on certain appointed days; and quadrimestral fasts are appointed for this purpose.

16. Patrons, and particularly the temporal

seniors, are to take care that churches and places of worship be maintained in proper condition.

17. Patrons (*i. e.* the nobles) are to assist, by turns, at every important meeting of the congregation, under penalty of excommunication.

18. The churches have the liberty of maintaining their ancient ceremonies, until a future general synod shall have established a uniform rule in that respect.

A commission was appointed to carry into execution the sentence of the synod against Gericus, as well as against Luperinus, the pastor of the Lutheran Polish congregation of Posnania. After two fruitless attempts by the commissioners, Erasmus Gliczner himself arrived at Posnania, and deposed Luperinus without opposition; but the German congregation, of which Gericus was the pastor, manifested so strong an opposition that Gliczner was in danger of being exposed to personal violence. Gericus, however, retired to Germany, and his place was occupied by a minister favourable to the consensus of Sandomir.

CHAPTER VI.

ATTEMPTS AT EFFECTING A UNION BETWEEN THE PRO-
TESTANT CONFESSIONS AND THE EASTERN CHURCH.

ALTHOUGH the emperor, John Paleologus, at the council of Florence, 1438, had placed the eastern church under the papal see, the greater part of its followers disapproved of that union, and notwithstanding the wretched condition into which it had fallen by the progress of the Ottoman conquest, continued to struggle against the supremacy of Rome. A deputy from the church of Constantinople arrived in Bohemia in 1451, with a message, by which the proceedings of Florence were stigmatized as a departure from the truth, and a union with the Greek church proposed to the Hussites. The fallen state of Constantinople, which in a few years afterwards passed under the yoke of Mahomed, rendered a similar proposition nugatory; but when the reformation of the sixteenth century took place, the Protestants of Germany turned their attention to the East. Paul Dolscius translated, in 1551, the confession of Augsburg into Greek, and

Eastern
church.

The Greek
divines of Con-
stantinople
propose a union
to the Hus-
sites.

Correspondence between the divines of Tübingen and the patriarch of Constantinople, for the purpose of effecting a union between the Eastern church and the Protestant confessions.

printed it at Basil (1559). The Emperor Maximilian the Second sent, in 1573, his ambassador to Constantinople, the baron Ungnad von Weiszenwolf, who was a zealous Protestant, and who took with him as his domestic chaplain Stephen Gerlach, a Lutheran divine, a proficient Greek scholar, and afterwards professor at Tübingen. The learned Martinus Crusius, professor at that university, gave him a letter of introduction in Greek to Jeremiah, patriarch of Constantinople, by whom he was well received. When Gerlach, by a long residence at Constantinople, had become better acquainted with the patriarch, Crusius, and another divine of Tübingen, James Andreas sent him the Greek translation of the confession of Augsburg, which Gerlach presented on the 24th May 1575. The patriarch, after having perused it himself, gave it to several of his clergy then present to read, and promised, after mature deliberation, to give a written opinion on the subject. His opinion was not given before the 15th May 1576, in an answer addressed to Crusius and Andreas, whom he calls wise Germans, and his spiritual sons. He styled himself the Oecumenic patriarch of new Rome, and exhorted them to unite closely with the Greek church.

The divines of Tübingen sent a reply to the epistle of the patriarch on the 6th June 1577, which reached him on the 4th March 1578, at Thessalonica, where he was on a tour of visi-

tation to his churches. He acknowledged in the month of May of the same year the receipt of it, and promised an answer, which was given a year afterwards. He reviewed the articles, in which the Lutheran confession differs from that of the Greek church, and exhorted the divines of Tübingen to unite with it. Soon afterwards he was deposed from his dignity, and Gerlach returned to Germany with the imperial ambassador. Notwithstanding this unfavourable circumstance, the professors of Tübingen again addressed a reply to the patriarch's second answer, dated St. John's-day, 1580, in which they condoled with him on his misfortune, and defended the confession of Augsburg. The patriarch answered the Lutherans, for the third time, in December 1581; he thanked them for having preserved their friendship to a man in misfortune, but requested them to discontinue their theological correspondence, because he saw that they would not be convinced by the evidence of the first luminaries of the church. The professors of Tübingen replied again, that they respected the fathers of the church, so far as they agreed with the Scriptures, and that they hoped he would become finally persuaded that the confession of Augsburg was founded on the Scriptures. After that time, it would seem that no further correspondence took place on the subject, although the confession at Augsburg was translated into mo-

dern Greek by Michael Cantacuzenos ; and even into the language of Georgia, by the order of a prince of that country.* A union of the Greek

* Vide *Friese's Beyträge*, &c. vol. ii. page 182, and following. He extracted these details from *Acta et Scripta Theolog. Wurtembergens. et Patriarchæ Constantinopolit. Hierimia ab ann. 1576, usque ad ann. 1582, de Augustana confessione quæ inter se miserunt Græce et Latine ab iisdem Theologis edita Wittemb. 1584*. This correspondence between the patriarchs of Constantinople and the divines of Tübingen provoked the strongest animadversions from the Romanists. Although it was conducted in secret, Socolovius (Sokolowski), a learned Romanist divine, then canon of Cracow, and chaplain to king Stephen Battery, met at Leopold a Greek archimandrite, named Theolipt, who informed him that the confession of Augsburg, translated into Greek, had been sent to Constantinople, and that the Lutherans wished to effect a union with the Eastern church. The same archimandrite promised, after his return to Constantinople, to send Sokolowski a copy of the answer given by the patriarch, which he did in 1581, through an Armenian priest. Sokolowski translated that answer into Latin, and published it with some remarks at Cracow, in 1582. The same author published, in the following year, his observations on the reply given by the divines of Tübingen to the final answer of the patriarch Jeremiah. These attacks, as well as many others written in Germany, induced Crusius to publish for his defence the documents relating to this transaction, in a work which contains much valuable information concerning the state of the Greeks under the Turkish domination at that time, under the title : "*Turcogræcia libri octo a Martino Crusio in Academia Tubingensi, Græco et Latino professore utraque lingua editi, quibus Græcorum status, sub imperio Turcico in Politica et Ecclesiastica Œconomia et Scholis jam inde ab amisso Constantinopoli ad hæc usque tempora luculenter describitur. Basilæ, 1584,*" fol. It provoked fresh attacks from Sokolowski,

church of Poland with that of Rome was at that time strenuously promoted by king Sigismund the Third; and he succeeded chiefly by the instrumentality of the celebrated Jesuit, Possevinus, in bringing about the convocation of a synod of the Greek clergy at Brest, in Lithuania, in 1590, for the purpose of deliberating on the projected union. But, as the desired result was not obtained from that synod, Possevinus persuaded four Greek bishops, namely, those of Lutzk, Pinsk, Chelm, and Leopold, to enter into a compact for promoting the union with Rome, which they did without the knowledge of their chief, the metropolitan of Kioff, Michael Rahoza, who had opposed that measure at the synod last mentioned. Meanwhile, the patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah the Second, who, having been at Moscow in 1588, had appointed a patriarch there, visited the Greek churches of Poland. Having received information of what was going on in Poland, and being dissatisfied with the reception he had met with from the metropolitan of Kioff, he published, at Constantinople, a sentence of deposition against that prelate. When the intelligence of such a proceeding reached Poland, it produced great irritation amongst the Greek clergy, and gave the Romanist party an increased

Endeavours of Sigismund the Third to effect a union between the Greek church of Poland and Rome.

Sokolowski, Gorski (an eminent Polish Romanist), and some Germans.

facility of attaining their great object, by confirming the four Greek bishops whom we have mentioned in their intention to unite with Rome, and to induce the metropolitan of Kioff to adopt the same view of the question, although he had hitherto opposed it. In order to effect this proposed union with more certainty, it was requisite to have a man of talent and consideration for the chief promoter of it. Such an individual was found in Adam Pociey, castellan of Brest, in Lithuania, who was of the Greek persuasion, belonged to a distinguished family, and possessed considerable talent. Pociey was induced to resign his senatorial dignity and to embrace the monastic rule, which is an indispensable step for obtaining episcopacy in the Greek church, and he was promoted to the bishoprick of Vladimir. His exertions greatly advanced the cause of the union, and the metropolitan of Kioff convoked for that purpose a synod, at Brest, in Lithuania, on the 2d of December 1594. It was presided over by the Roman Catholic bishop of Lutzk, Bernard Maciejowski, who acted as a papal delegate on that occasion. The Greek metropolitan and bishops, chiefly induced by the hope of gaining seats in the senate, signed their assent to the proposed union, and chose, at the beginning of the following year, 1595, Pociey and Terlecki, bishop of Lutzk, their delegates to the king at Cracow; whence, having received introductory letters to

The Greek synod convened at Brest, in Lithuania, 1594, resolves on a union with Rome.

the pope and a considerable subsidy, they proceeded to Rome. They were received with great distinction by Clement VIII., and, after some deliberation, swore allegiance to the union of Florence in 1438, by which they admitted the *filioque*, or the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, purgatory, and the supremacy of the pope; retaining the Slavonian language in the celebration of divine service, and the ritual, as well as the discipline, of the Eastern church. They returned to Poland in 1596, and the king ordered the convocation of a synod, for the publication and general introduction of the union which they had effected. This synod assembled on the 6th October of the same year at Brest, in Lithuania, and there were present not only the Greek clergy, but several dignitaries and noblemen of the Greek, as well as of other persuasions. The metropolitan of Kioff and the bishops who had assented to the union, at the synod which was held in the same place, in 1594, signed the act of union, addressed thanksgivings to the Almighty for having brought back the stray sheep into the pale of his church; and then proceeded to excommunicate all who opposed the union. The greater part of the Greek nobility, however, with prince Constantine Ostrogski, palatine of Kioff, at their head, remained opposed to that measure; and the prince assembled a numerous meeting of the nobility and

It sends delegates to Rome who solemnly acknowledge the union of Florence.

The Greek synod of Brest, 1596, confirms the union with Rome, but a great part of the followers of the Eastern church dissent

from that
synod, and
each party ex-
communicates
the other.

Fatal conse-
quences of that
union to
Poland.

clergy adverse to Rome, at which the bishops who had brought about the union were excommunicated. Among the disastrous consequences that ensued, we may mention the introduction of discord into the Greek church in Poland, and the disaffection of the numerous adherents of the patriarch of Constantinople, who were exposed to the persecution of the partizans of Rome, supported by the authority of the king. It is well known that many attempted to justify the union on political grounds, representing it as a measure calculated to cement the unity of the empire, strengthen the loyalty of the Russian population, and prevent the growing power of Muscovy from exercising on them any influence dangerous to the integrity of the state. This question is, however, decided by the evidence of history. Poland, which had extended its dominion over millions of Russian populations following the Eastern church, found in them, as long as it did not touch their religion, the most loyal and devoted subjects, who preferred its free institutions to the despotism of Muscovy, although professing the creed of the latter country. Moreover, many Polish warriors, who had distinguished themselves against the tsar, were zealously devoted to the Eastern church. Many years, however, did not elapse after the ratification of the union, before the cossacks of Ukraine began to rebel against the domination of Poland; which led to bloody wars, and, at length,

to their entire separation from it. We affirm, therefore, that this union was a most fatal measure, and we shall have opportunity sufficient to describe the deplorable events which it brought about. We have already seen that prince Constantine Ostrogski sent, in 1595, a delegate and addressed a letter to the Protestant synod of Thorn. The members of that synod agreed verbally with the delegate of the prince to arrange a meeting of Protestants and Greeks, in order to conclude a union for their mutual protection against the persecution of the Romanists. Circumstances prevented for some years the accomplishment of this object, but, at the beginning of 1599, A. Leszczynski, palatine of Brest, in Cujavia, met in the province of Russia, with Christopher Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, and prince Ostrogski. They then agreed, that on the 15th of May of the same year, divines of the three Protestants confessions should meet some Greek priests at Vilna, and discuss the terms of a religious as well a political union. Leszczynski wrote to S. T. Turnowski, superintendent of the Bohemian brethren, requesting him to be at Vilna at the appointed time. Turnowski, although scarcely recovered from an illness, gladly complied with that request, and arrived at Vilna on the 14th May, with Mikolajewski, senior of the Helvetian confession in Cujavia, and Erasmus Gliczner. On the day previous to their arrival, Turnowski presented

Attempt at effecting a union between the Eastern church and the Protestant confessions in Poland.

to his two companions the following considerations :—

1. Being called to Vilna for the purpose of concluding a union with the followers of the Eastern church, it is necessary that we should ourselves steadily adhere to the consensus of Sandomir, and, forgetting all mutual grievances, recommend the consensus to them by word and deed.

2. As there is great discord between the ministers of the Helvetian and Lutheran confessions at Vilna, and as a great scandal is daily caused thereby, it is necessary early to remove that evil.

3. As the Lutheran congregation of Vilna has refused till now to accept the consensus, E. Gliczner should try to induce them to do it.

4. When the discussions with the Greek clergy shall begin, let us always act in concert, lest in seeking to unite with them, we shew that we disagree amongst ourselves.

E. Gliczner and Mikolajewski approved of these propositions, and promised Turnowski to act in accordance with them.

Assembly of
Vilna, for the
purpose of
effecting a
union between

On the day after their arrival at Vilna, they were complimented in the name of prince Ostrogski, by Martinus Broniewski* and Christopher

* Martinus Broniewski, a learned Protestant, who took an active part at the synod of Thorn, was secretary to king Stephen Battory, and employed by him on diplomatical missions to the Crimea. He published a celebrated work, "*Martini Broniewii*"

Pawlowski. As prince Radziwill and Andreas Leszczynski had not yet arrived at Vilna, the Protestant divines could not enter into discussions with the Greek clergy; Turnowski, however, prepared twelve articles for discussion with the followers of the Eastern church. These articles, after having been approved of by some Protestant divines, were presented to prince Ostrogski, who ordered an extract to be made from them, which he submitted to the consideration of the Greek clergy in the form of the following questions.

the Greeks
and the Pro-
testants.

1. Whether they were satisfied with the true word of God which is contained in the Old and New Testament, or, to speak more clearly, whether they admitted what was written by Moses, the prophets, the evangelists, and the apostles, and firmly believed that their writings, being inspired by the Holy Ghost, were useful for the instruction, admonition, amendment, and exercise in justice of men, and could make a man perfect, and perfectly disciplined for every good work, and wise unto salvation through faith?

Questions pro-
posed by the
Protestant
divines to the
Greeks.

2. Whether they gave implicit credence to the ancient doctors on account of their piety, even though they might disagree with them in some things respecting the word of God?

3. Whether, in case that any thing in their doctrine and worship should prove contrary to the

novii de Tartaria, &c.," which Dr. Clarke frequently quotes in his *Travels in Crimea*.

word of God and the apostolical doctrine, they would consider it obligatory on them to accept an amendment of it from the word of God ?

4. Whether they considered as their brethren and fellow-worshippers of God, all those who conformed in their worship and actions to the word of God, and consider the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the word of God, to be Antichrist ?

5. Whether, according to the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, they would unite in love, and for mutual advice and assistance in common injuries and affairs against Antichrist and his servants, with those who, being satisfied with the true word of God, submitted entirely to its rule and doctrine, considered Christ as their pastor and the sole head of the church, received the sacraments according to his institution, admitted the authority of the first uniform oecumenic councils, and considered the holy doctors, whose writings agree with the Scriptures, as teachers sent by God, and very useful for the edification of the church ?

First meeting
of the Pro-
testant divines
with the Greek
priests.

Different circumstances prevented a meeting of the Protestant divines with the Greek clergy till the 24th of May, on which day it took place in the palace of prince Ostrogski. When the Protestants entered the hall of the meeting, they found there Lucas, metropolitan of Bialygorod ; Isaac, ihumenos (superior) of the convent of Dubno and Gedeon, archdeacon of the same

place. The manner in which they received the Protestants boded no good to the projected union, for the ihumenos Isaac said to Turnowski, giving him his hand, "I welcome you, although the Scriptures have forbidden us to welcome heretics." Turnowski answered this strange reception in a modest manner, and expressed his astonishment that Isaac considered them as heretics, without having ever seen them. Prince Ostrogski, as president of the meeting, opened its deliberations by a speech in Russian, in which he protested, by God and his conscience, that he wished nothing more ardently than to see a mutual harmony established amongst those who acknowledged one head of the church, *i. e.* "Jesus Christ," and taught his gospels; because it would be pleasing to God, and would serve to maintain peace, and to make defence against the servants of Antichrist; "and," continued he, "God grant me to see the accomplishment of a union between our Greek and your evangelical churches; with that consolation I would gladly die to-morrow." E. Gliczner thanked the prince for his exertions in promoting the glory of God, and stated that the Polish Protestants were not averse from coming to an understanding with the Greek clergy, and even, if such a thing should prove possible, to a union with the Eastern church. His speech was interrupted by the metropolitan Lucas, who said, "It is a vain thought of yours

that we shall join you, abandoning our own creed: unless you give up your religion, and adopt ours, there is no other means of a union." These words, which destroyed the hope of a union at the very outset of the discussion, irritated the prince, who severely rebuked the Greek clergy; and turning to the Protestants, said, "If our clergy will oppose concord with you, we shall have concord and mutual love without them." After which, Turnowski gave it as his opinion, in a long speech, that although the Eastern church was not altogether free from error, it contained in its doctrine many positions which approximated to those of the Protestant confessions. Thus, for instance, it did not acknowledge the *Roman Antichrist* as the head of the church, but considered Jesus Christ as the only head of that church; and it likewise agreed in many other articles with the Scriptures and the Protestants. "God invites us," continued he, "to a mutual union through the persecution of our enemies, the followers of Antichrist. I consider as fortunate this day, in which God has permitted me to join with my brethren in this affair, to meet the disciples of the Greek church, and to converse with them about things belonging to our mutual good understanding and union in brotherly love. I declare in my own name, and in that of my brethren, that we are ready to unite with you, and not only with those of you who

inhabit the Polish dominions, but even with those who are in Greece and Muscovy, that we may come to an understanding in conformity with the Holy Writ, touching all the articles of faith, and the proceedings of our worship. If, therefore, you will shew us that there is something in our doctrine which is not in accordance with the Scriptures, we are ready to reject it. But should we likewise find in your doctrine something which does not agree with the Scriptures, and is contrary to them, you will also surrender it, and, yielding to truth, unite with us. But as to the manner in which such proceedings should take place amongst us, I believe that having regard to your authority, the patriarch of Constantinople, you will not finally conclude this affair. But the introduction and the laying the foundation of this holy work may be done, with the assistance of God, between you and us, when more persons on both sides shall be assembled here. We should, therefore, be glad to know how you receive this our brotherly intention, and what is your opinion about it? Mikolajewski spoke afterwards in the same spirit and mentioned several articles, in which he said, "the Papists had erred, but which the Greeks believed, in accordance with the Scriptures, as did the Protestants." After these speeches, prince Ostrogski returned thanks to the Protestant divines for their disposition and good-will towards a union with the Eastern church. Isaac

ihumenos of Dubno, and Gedeon, archdeacon of the same place, expressed their gratitude to the Almighty for the opportunity granted to them of seeing established between themselves and the Protestants, that mutual love by which, according to the words of Christ, his true followers were to be recognized. Isaac demonstrated, in a long speech, that the Eastern church agreed with the Protestants in this, that it considered Jesus Christ as the only head of the church, and as the foundation of faith, the Old and New Testaments, the writings of the holy fathers, and the first seven oecumenic councils; and he concluded by saying, that the Greek clergy could not take any decisive step relating to a union with the Protestants, without the authority of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, who, as he thought, would not object to that union. After this, all persons present rose from their seats, and gave to each other their hand in sign of the fraternal concord established between them.

One of the Greek clergy then said to the Protestants, "Would to God that you gentlemen had, for the sake of a good government, submitted to the authority of the patriarch;" on which prince Ostrogski rebuked him, saying, "How can you think that those who have refused obedience to the Pope, whose authority is very considerable, would submit to that of the patriarch which is much inferior?"

Further discussion on this subject was postponed till the arrival of Andreas Leszczynski, palatine of Brest,* who came on the 27th May, accom

* During this interval the Protestant divines were occupied with the affairs of the reformed church of Vilna, in which much scandal and discord prevailed. These troubles were caused by the Jesuits, who so gained over Popowski, minister of that church, that he recommended the members of his own congregation to send their children to their schools. In addition to this, the Protestant divines prepared themselves for a public disputation with the Jesuits, occasioned by the following circumstance:—During the discussions between the Protestants and the Greeks, which we have described, John Pasz, steward of the castle of Vilna, who from a Protestant had become a zealous Romanist, entered the place of their meeting, and declared that the Jesuits were ready to prove the errors of the Protestants. Prince Ostrogski expressed his wish to hear such a disputation; the Protestant divines accepted the challenge, and Pasz took upon himself to make the necessary arrangements for a polemical meeting. A few days afterwards he wrote to E. Gliczner, declaring that he had fulfilled his promise, and sent at the same time a letter from the celebrated Jesuit, Martinus Smiglecki (Smiglecius), (a) proposing the place and the manner of conducting the discussion. It took place on the 2d June, at the royal castle; the Roman Catholics were defended by Smiglecius, and the Protestants by Mikolajewski, Janicki, and Gracyan, the last of whom published a description of this meeting. There were present about four thousand persons, amongst whom were five princes, and several palatines and castellans, and the proceedings

(a) Smiglecius is the author of a treatise on logic, which was a long time in use in the schools of several countries, and was reprinted at Oxford, 1658.

Second meeting of the Protestant and Greek divines, who acknowledge the impossibility of concluding a dogmatical union between their respective confessions without the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople.

Articles common to both the confessions, which are proclaimed as preliminaries of the projected union.

panied by Gregory of Zarnowiec, and two other ministers. Turnowski apprised them immediately of the result of the discussion with the Greek clergy; and on the following day, the 28th May, all the Protestant and Greek divines assembled in the palace of prince Ostrogski. There were present, besides the prince himself, who was palatine of Kioff, A. Leszczynski, palatine of Brest in Cujavia; Christopher Radziwill, palatine of Vilna; George Radziwill, palatine of Novogrudek; John Abrahamowicz, palatine of Smolensk; Christopher Zienowicz, palatine of Brest in Lithuania; as well as some other nobles. The number of the Greek clergy was ten, and as there was no means of concluding a dogmatical union without the consent of the patriarch of Constantinople, the following articles, in which the Protestants agreed with the Greeks, were read as preliminaries to the projected union.

They declared themselves to believe and acknowledge in common—1. That the Scriptures are the source of truth and of the doctrine of salvation.

2. That God is one in the substance of Godhead and threefold in person.

3. That these three persons are different, but have the same substance, none being

ings lasted six hours. It is almost needless to add, that nothing was effected, and that both parties claimed the victory.

before or after the other, according to the Nicene creed.

4. That the summary of the apostolic faith, called *symbolum*, is the essence of the true confession and worship.

5. That Christ, Son of the living God, is God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before all worlds, and man of the substance of his Mother born in the world for our salvation.

6. That Christ by offering himself to God the Father for us, perfectly atoned for our sins by his death.

7. That God is neither the cause nor the maker of sin.

8. That all men are conceived and born in original sin.

9. That the sins of those who repent and are truly converted, are pardoned.

10. That faithful Christians must do good works.

11. That Christ alone is the only head of the church, visible as well as invisible.

12. That the ministration of clergymen is necessary for the church of God, in the dispensation of the word of the gospel and of the sacraments.

13. That the marriage of the clergy is not prohibited.

14. That infants are to receive baptism.

15. That the Lord's supper is to be given to all the faithful in two kinds.

16. That the Scriptures make no mention of purgatory for the purification of souls after death.

17. That Christ having bodily ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

18. That as the happiness of the faithful is everlasting, so is the punishment of the damned without end.

In order to produce reconciliation on the subject of those articles of faith in which the Greeks differed from the Protestants, Turnowski proposed for that purpose synods, alternately Greek and Protestant, which should be held annually. The Greek clergy, however, having no authority from the head of their church to treat with the Protestants about a union, refused to enter into any religious questions, despite all the efforts of prince Ostrogski to persuade them to do so. It was even with great difficulty that the Greek divines were prevailed upon to give a promise, that they would not attack, either by word or writing, the union projected with the Protestants, but postpone all public treatment of the matter till the answers of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, to whom the Protestant divines addressed letters on the subject on the 4th and 6th June,* should be received. As it was im-

* Friese says, that the answer of the patriarch of Constantinople was intercepted by the Jesuits; but that the reply of Meletius,

possible to establish a religious union between the Eastern church and the Protestant confessions without the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, the nobility belonging to them contented themselves with concluding a confederation or political union for the mutual defence of their respective rights and liberties, or rather for the strict maintenance of the confederation of the 6th January 1573, which was the fundamental law of the country. This confederation may be therefore regarded as conservative, in the best meaning of the term, unobjectionable in principle and patriotic in its object.

Confederation between the Greek and Protestant nobles, for the maintenance of the religious liberty assured by the constitution of the country.

The following expressions of the act, will give an idea of the persecution to which the anti-Romanist confessions were thus early subjected, notwithstanding they were placed, by the laws of the country, on a perfectly equal footing with the Roman Catholics. "A great number of our churches, convents, and houses of worship have been destroyed or laid waste; and these acts of violence have been accompanied by shameful robberies, great cruelty, the spilling of blood, and even murder; all of which has been perpetrated with a degree of joy unheard-of, and with as little mercy to the dead as to the living. Many

Enumeration of the injuries to which the anti-Romanists were already subjected.

Meletius, patriarch of Alexandria, dated 24th November 1600, as well as a letter to Martin Broniewski, who had become personally acquainted with him during his travels in the East, reached their destination. He says, however, nothing about the contents of those letters.—Vide his *Beyträge*, vol. ii. page 252.

churches have been seized by the Roman clergy, who act at the same time as parties and judges, in consequence of illegal decrees obtained at secret trials, and they are striving to deprive us of more of them by similar means. In many places prohibitions have been issued against our holding religious meetings, attending divine service and burials, and performing other Christian actions ; as also against the erection of churches and places of worship. Our clergy, parish priests, churchwardens, teachers, and preachers are persecuted, on account of their attachment to their religion ; they are calumniated and insulted in every manner, attacked in their own houses, expelled from them, robbed of their property, deprived of their inheritance, seized on the high roads and in towns belonging to the state, kept in close confinement, beaten, murdered, drowned ; and in their stead are imposed on the congregations pastors, whom we consider, on account of their having fallen off from the obedience of the patriarch of Constantinople, unable to minister in our churches. These things have taken place in many of the Greek churches, which although they are in the gift of his royal majesty, do not belong, on that account, to the jurisdiction of the Roman church. (Then follow some complaints about the support given to those who were withdrawing themselves from obedience to the patriarch of Constantinople and submitting to the pope, in their hostility to

those who remained faithful to their ancient creed). But they (the Roman clergy) not only offer violence to places and persons devoted to divine service, but also attack laymen, and particularly the burghers, excluding them, merely on account of their religion, from guilds, trades, and commercial companies, and even expelling them from their own houses under different pretences. When a marriage ceremony has been performed by our clergymen, they reproach the offspring of it with illegitimacy; they attempt to take by deceit from parents the power of contracting the marriage of their own daughters; they condemn people that have been married (without their approval) to Romish ecclesiastical prisons, and they try to bring before their ecclesiastical courts the cognizance of temporal affairs connected with marriage."

The act goes on to state, that the Romanist persecution was beginning to reach the equestrian order, notwithstanding that they were equal to the Romanists, and had zealously served their king and their country. "We are excluded," it says, "on account of our religion, by the machinations of the Romish clergy, from the senate, the dignities of the state, the offices, starosties, &c., and even in the military service of the state we are not on a footing of equality with Roman Catholics; nay, we experience, even in our private affairs, in the promotion of our happiness

and welfare, considerable injury ; and when we complain of the wrongs and injuries done to us, and supplicate a cessation of them, we receive not the smallest consolation, but are treated with contempt and derision, and frequently are not even listened to. Not only can we not obtain the legal redress promised by the confederation of 1573, but the Romanist clergy loudly declare in their writings, and the laymen on the elections, diets, and courts of justice, that they do not acknowledge the confederation as a law of the country, and that they consider it contrary to their conscience to approve of it. By all these proceedings, the only bond of concord, love, confidence, and peace, amongst us (the confederation of 1573), which has been established and maintained by our ancestors, as well as by ourselves, and which has earned for us amongst neighbouring nations a reputation for wisdom, is vilified and destroyed. Yet was it the consideration of this very bond which made us bear so many wrongs, in the hope that they who committed them would ultimately render us justice. But since the declarations to which we have adverted are given to us instead of redress, accompanied with insult, threats, and outrage, from many who have separated themselves from us in different ways, and do so daily more and more ; since at the same time it is predicted that our worship shall be abolished in a few years ; since

we are violently attacked in sermons, in which every means of exterminating us is pointed out, and the people excited against us by promises of blessings; when we consider the new associations, sodalities, and other machinations, are being formed in hostility to us; since great indulgence is shewn to those who have done us injury, and they are invested with the dignity of magistrates, public officers, &c.; since, instead of obtaining any alleviation of oppression, it constantly waxes heavier, so that we have reason to apprehend, (which may God forbid!) a public and cruel persecution, such as had been brought about in other kingdoms by the very same instruments which we see in our own country employed in all the affairs of the state; therefore do we find ourselves compelled and forced, almost against our wishes, to think about our own safety, lest a similar persecution may befall us; and this we must do with the much more care and circumspection, that not only our own particular welfare depends on it, but also the safety and welfare of the state in general, as well as the preservation of the rights and liberties of all, and even the maintenance and promotion of the glory of God. Considering all this, we professing the Greek and Protestant religions, insist on the fundamental law of the country, namely, the general confederation of Warsaw, a law sacredly observed by us, without any regard to those who

have swerved from it, declaring, at the same time, that we are ready and willing to act according to its provisions, with all love, good-will, and brotherly feeling, towards all those of the Roman Catholic religion who wish to observe the said confederation, and live with us in peace (of whom we have no doubt there are still many)," &c. &c.

It is therefore evident, that the confederation of Vilna (1599), concluded between the followers of the Eastern church and the Protestants of the three confessions, united by the consensus of Sandomir, was of a strictly loyal and conservative nature, having no other object than the preservation of the fundamental law of the country against the destructive machinations of the Jesuits, and of their party, who, when they attempted to overthrow it, contemplated a dangerous revolution in the institutions of the country.

It was further determined by the same act of the confederation, to defend, by every legal and constitutional means, the religious liberties of the nation, and to repel force by force, should these means fail—"Because," as it was justly expressed, "every one should, in case of violence, hasten to the assistance of others, as he would to extinguish a house on fire." In order to provide more effective protection of the anti-Romanist confessions against oppression, daily on the increase, a number of persons, called Provisors, were chosen from amongst the senators and the most influential

nobles of the Greek and Protestant confessions, whose duty was to protect against the machinations of the Romanists, by their efforts, the churches and institutions, as well as individuals, belonging to their communions.* Although this

* The following list of the provisors shews that many of the noblest families of the country adhered at that time either to the Eastern church or the Protestant confessions. From the nobility professing the creed of the Eastern church were chosen as provisors: prince Constantine Ostrogski, palatine of Kioff, prince Alexander Ostrogski, palatine of Volhynia; prince Gregory Sanguszko Koszerski, castellan of Bratzlav, the princes Michael and Adam Wisniowietzki, prince Korecki, prince Cyrill Rozynski, prince Horski, the princes Bogdan and John Solmirecki, prince Puzyna,^(a) and Messrs. Zachorowski, Kirdey, Tryzna, and Labonski. From the Protestant confession, the following senators: prince Christopher Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, Andreas Leszczynski, palatine of Brest in Cujavia, John Abrahamowicz, palatine of Smolensk, Christopher Zienowicz, palatine of Brest in Lithuania, Fabian Cema, palatine of Marienburg, John Rozrazewski, castellan of Posnania, John Zborowski, castellan of Gniesno, Nicholas Naruszewicz, castellan of Samogitia,

(a) There were many families in Lithuania, having the title of princes, which were descended, either from the collateral branches of the Jaguellonian family, as the Sanguszko, Czar-toryski, &c., or from the ancient Russian sovereigns and petty princes of the dynasty of Rurick, which became extinct on the throne of Muscovy, 1579, with Fedor, son of Ivan Vassilovich, the Tyrant, but which still continues in several families of Russia and Poland. The Radziwills received their dignity from the emperor Charles the Fifth.

confederation, by shewing the strength possessed by the anti-Romanists in Poland, procured a few years of repose from persecution, it did not produce such effects as might have been reasonably anticipated. The blame may be justly attributed

gitia, Czaplic, castellan of Kiow, Korsak, castellan of Polock, John Zienowicz, castellan of Witepsk, Dorohostayski, castellan of Minsk, Niszczycski, castellan of Belsk, Andreas Firley, castellan of Radom, Mionczynski, castellan of Vielun, Drohojewski, castellan of Sanok, Urowiecki, castellan of Chelm, Ruszkowski, castellan of Przement, Balinski, castellan of Bromberg, Christopher Monivi Dorohostayski, grand marshal of Lithuania, as well as the following persons of the equestrian order in Poland : Andreas Szafraniec, Rey, Kreza, Kempski, Kolka, Pawlowski, Palczewski, Czyzewski, Gniewosz, Goluchowski, Stadnicki, Bal, Chrzostowski, Trojecki, Fredro of Krakowice, Czaplic, John Potocki, starost of Kamieniec, John and Christopher Sieninski, sons of the palatine of Podolia, Rzeczycki, Gorayski, three of the name of Ostrorog, Jahodynski, Kosinski, Pisocinski, Latalski, Tomicki, Zarembe, Grudziecki, Witoslawski, Pogorzelski, Orzelski, Grudzinski, Marszewski, Bialosliwski, Zychlinski, Palecki, Chrystoporski, Widawski, Niemojowski, Krotowski, Niszczycski, Zalinski, Ostromecki, Chelminski, Dorpowski. In Lithuania, prince George Radziwill, son of the palatine of Novogrudeck, Chlebowicz, grand cup-bearer of Lithuania, Talvosz Pientkiewicz, prince Holowczynski, princes Drucki Horski Stabrowski, Pociay, Miaskiewicz, Jundzill, Pakosz, Wereszczaka, Siemaszko, Korsak, prince Drucki Sokolinski Sapielha Szemiot, Radziminski, Holownia, Wolk, prince Zyziemski.

We have given this list, which contains many names distinguished in the history of Poland, for the sake of those of our countrymen who may happen to read this work, and who will, perhaps, be interested to find the names of their own families, or of those related to them.

to the confederates themselves, who were contented with a demonstration of that force which they ought to have employed in obtaining full redress of all the infractions made on the most vital part of the constitution; that part of it, namely, which guaranteed the dearest and most sacred rights of every citizen, the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of his conscience. Their forces were such, that a mere display of them* would have suppressed all the treasonable machinations which had been invented for the overthrow of the constitution by the infatuated king Sigismund Vasa, and his evil-minded advisers, the Jesuits. This could have been done without any bloodshed, as the confederation would have been supported in their constitutional demands by all the enlightened and patriotic Romanists, for the great Zamoyski, who represented that party, was still alive, although his counsels were no longer listened to by the monarch, who owed him that throne which he himself, such was the ill fortune of the country, had scrupled to ascend. It was, therefore, necessary for the confederation, we repeat, to assemble their forces, to exert the strictest fulfilment of the constitutional guarantees, and not to rest satisfied until all the trespassers on the constitu-

* Prince Ostrogski alone could bring into the field between fifteen and twenty thousand men.

tion had been visited with the unmitigated severity of the laws enacted against the perpetrators of similar crimes. This would have produced a salutary terror among all those who were conspiring against the liberties of their country, in order to sacrifice them to the interests of Rome, and have been a better guarantee for the observance of the laws than all the vain promises of a monarch who felt bound himself not to keep faith with heretics. It would have prevented, not only the civil war, which disturbed the country a few years afterwards, but also that deplorable rebellion of the Greek population in the southeastern provinces of the empire during subsequent reigns, which may be considered as the origin and the main cause of the decline of Poland.

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL WAR OCCASIONED BY THE GENERAL DISCONTENT
AGAINST THE KING AND HIS ADVISERS.

THE confederates of Vilna endeavoured, in pursuance of their resolution, to obtain redress by legal and constitutional means, and they strenuously exerted themselves at the diet of 1603 to procure the confirmation of their compact, and the sanction of it by the national legislature.* The anti-Romanists were headed, on that occasion, by Alexander prince Ostrogski, palatine of Volhynia, a follower of the Eastern church; and they demanded in reality nothing but the maintenance of established laws, and impartial treatment by the king of all religious persuasions. These just demands were supported by the great Zamoyski, who was the chief of the moderate Roman Catholic party, who were designated by the Jesuits, and other zealous supporters of Rome,

Fruitless attempt of the anti-Romanists to obtain redress by constitutional means.

* *Summa vi hæretici fæderationem suam lege publicâ stabilire contendebant.* Lubienski.

Death of Zamoyiski, which destroyed every hope of arresting, by peaceful means, the Roman Catholic re-action.

political Catholics. Their object was, however, defeated by the dissolution of the diet,* an act little calculated to allay discontent. At the diet of 1605 fresh remonstrances were made, but with equal ill success. The marriage of the king with the archduchess of Austria, (a match opposed to the general wish of the nation, which was jealous of the influence of Austria, whose interests were zealously promoted by the Jesuits,) increased the universal discontent. Zamoyiski, who strongly disapproved of that alliance, as well as of all the fatal policy which Sigismund pursued by the advice of his loyalite councillors, died in 1605; and the death of this eminent patriot, whose opposition might have arrested the progress of evil, without resorting to the desperate remedy of a civil war, destroyed all hopes of averting that calamity.

The causes which gave rise to the disturbances which agitated Poland in 1606-1608, were not only religious, but also political. A great number of Roman Catholics viewed with terror the dan-

* It is well known that the diets in Poland could be dissolved by the *veto* of a single member. This privilege, however, was not exercised before the year 1652, when the diet was dissolved by the veto of Sicinski, nuncio of Upita. Before that event, several diets had been broken up without producing any result, by the secession of members, who, from dissatisfaction with the monarch or other causes, left the assembly, and returned to their homes.

gers with which civil, as well as religious liberty, were threatened by the growing influence of the Jesuits, who openly deprecated the free constitution by which Poland was governed.* The grievances which disposed the minds of men to violence were ably set forth in a memorial, published in Polish in 1606,† of which a contemporary, Thuanus, has given the following account :

Agitation of the country produced by religious as well as political causes.

“The complaints which were made against the Jesuits last year (1606), were reiterated in a long pamphlet, in which the author reproached these fathers with their active interference in civil affairs, and accused them of having caused all the troubles by which many states had been agitated for several years. It ascribed the origin of this mischief to the council of Trent, of which it affirmed, that it added nothing to the doctrine professed by Catholics in all parts of the world ; that it had not enacted any regulations concern-

* The Jesuit Skarga, in his sermons, indulged in bitter invectives against the freedom with which the nuncios expressed their opinions at the diets.

† A Latin translation of the pamphlet was published in Germany in 1609, and a French from the Latin at Amsterdam in 1726, entitled “ Discours aux Grands de Pologne, sur la nécessité de faire sortir les Jesuites du Royaume pour y rétablir l’union et la tranquillité, par un Seigneur Polonais.” The library of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex contains a copy of this curious tract.

ing discipline that had not been enjoined by preceding councils; and that the remainder of its provisions had no other objects than the increase of the power of the popes and of the court of Rome, and the confirmation of modern constitutions, tending to the same end, but nowhere received. That for this purpose, and at the instigation of the Jesuits, who, in affairs of religion, relied more on human counsel than on Providence, the publication of the above-mentioned council had been so much pressed. That it was in furtherance of the same design that leagues and alliances had been formed, and the numerous daughters of the house of Austria given in marriage to those princes whom the Jesuits wished to gain over. That though by such machinations the fathers were already in possession of Poland, they thought it necessary to strengthen their influence by introducing the Spanish inquisition, or something like it: that, to effect this, they had striven to establish the council of Trent, whence, as from Pandora's box, had issued all the calamities which desolated Europe. That, nevertheless, this pernicious council was nothing, when compared with that kind of exemption which the Jesuits claimed, and to obtain which they strove with such cunning, that their ability was becoming justly formidable to the nobles of Poland, and to all nations attached to the laws and the liberty left them by their

ancestors. That it was this, and nothing else, which caused all the disturbances in the kingdom ; for the Jesuits, with their affected politeness, and their great talent in influencing the minds of the grandees, and subjecting them to their will, behaved in such a manner, with the appearance of being devoted to Poland, and occupied with her interests; they had for their service the blade of a two-edged sword, the hilt of which was held by the courts of Rome and Spain, from which they depended. That this was the ground of the many indulgences and concessions granted to them by the holy see, and that, relying on the court of Rome, they durst promise every thing, and boast that nothing was impossible to them. That they insinuated themselves into the courts of monarchs, and became their confessors, directing according to their own wishes, and frequently to the great disadvantage of these princes, all the operations of government. That Henry, who had been king of Poland, and had left it afterwards, in order to take possession of the crown of his ancestors, was deprived by them of his crown and life. That they have prompted Battory* to evil designs against his own subjects, which had reduced him from the rank of a sovereign to a private station.

* Duke of Transylvania, and nephew to king Stephen Battory.

That the many frightful conspiracies plotted in England under the reigns of Elizabeth and James, which had only served to irritate the mind of the sovereign, and to render the condition of the Catholics still worse, were the results of their advice. That recently the Jesuits, who had colleges at Venice, Padua, and other towns of the Venetian republic, advised the Pope to excommunicate that republic, and had tried to seduce into rebellion the other monastic orders. That as the Jesuits possessed so many rich schools in Poland, there was just ground for apprehending that they would endeavour to execute the schemes which they had carried into effect in Italy, France, and many other countries where the princes had not been sufficiently wary of them. That Zamoyski, a grandee, distinguished for his virtues, his eminent patriotism, and his love of letters, had been quite right in excluding these fathers from the academy which he had founded at Zamosc; that he had wisely judged, that they were unable to form youths in the sciences, and to give them an education congenial to the manners of their country. That the example of that great man was a lesson to the Poles, and ought to persuade them how great, though widely spread, an error it was to suppose that letters could not prosper without the Jesuits. That as this order of regular clergy was injurious to the republic, and not fit to educate youth, Poland,

if it wished to preserve peace, ought to expel the members of it by a solemn decree," &c. &c.

These were, undoubtedly, the motives that operated to produce general discontent in Poland, in the years 1606 to 1608, although some personal reasons may have influenced the leaders of the opposition party. As soon as disaffection had ripened into open resistance to the royal authority, Zebrzydowski, palatine of Cracow, became the leader of the opposition. He had been the most intimate friend of Zamoyski, who was generally supposed to have communicated to him, on his death-bed, his views and projects relative to the state in which the country was placed by the measures of the king. The choice of this leader proved that the anti-Romanist party was deficient either in political dexterity or strength, as Zebrzydowski was a strict, although a liberal Romanist. Their ranks had undoubtedly been thinned by an unceasing Romanist reaction of twenty years; yet had prince Ostrogski joined them with all his influence, he would have become their leader, and have thrown such a weight into their scale, as to have wrung from the king unconditional acquiescence in their demands. The undecided part, however, which he played on this occasion, must be regarded as the chief cause of the ill success of the insurrection. The first signal for armed opposition was given by the

Zebrzydowski,
chief of the
discontented
party.

The rokosh of Proszowice demands from the diet redress of several grievances.

nobles of the palatinate of Cracow, who, headed by Zebrzydowski, assembled at Proszowice on the 7th March, 1605, and passed a resolution, that a general meeting of the equestrian order should take place at Stenzycza (palatinate of Cracow), for the purpose of demanding redress of grievances. This armed meeting or rokosh,* was numerously attended, and several Protestant

* Rokosh was an armed opposition to the royal authority, permitted by the constitution, when the king, disregarding the admonition of the senate, persisted in violating it. The clause of the *pacta conventa*, sworn by the kings of Poland at their accession, which authorized such an opposition, was inserted for the first time into the oath sworn by Henry of Valois, on the 17th September, 1573, at the church of Notre Dame at Paris. It was as follows: *Et si, quod absit, in aliquibus juramentum meum violavero nullam mihi inclytæ regni omniumque dominiorum utriusque gentis (Poles and Lithuanians) obedientiam prestare debebunt. Immo ipso facto eos ab omni fide, obedientia regi debita liberos facio, absolutionemque nullam ab hoc meo juramento a quoquam petam neque ultro oblatam suscipiam sic me deus juvet.* This clause remained afterwards in the *pacta conventa*. It is to be remarked, that the king positively expressed that he would not seek any absolution from this oath, a provision expressly introduced from fear that Henry would accept from the Pope absolution from his oath to the Protestants. The above-mentioned clause of the *pacta conventa* was better defined by the diets of 1607 and 1609, where it was enacted, in the article *de non præstanda obedientia*, that an armed opposition would be offered to the monarch, only then when all constitutional means had been employed in vain, in order to bring him back to his duty, and that otherwise it was treason.

leaders* were deputed to represent their wrongs to the diet assembled at Warsaw. They complained of the attempt to restore Romanism in Livonia, as dangerous to the integrity of the empire; of the protracted quarrels between the state and the church of Rome; of the infringement of the rights of the anti-Romanist confessions; and of the Roman Catholic clergy pretending to be above secular jurisdiction and the laws of the country. Many other grievances of a purely political nature were brought forward at the same time. The senate endeavoured to excuse the monarch, who, himself perceiving the danger, sent the Jesuit Skarga to negotiate with Zebrzydowski, but without success. The opposition having failed of obtaining their demands, prince Radziwill, accompanied by almost all the Lithuanian nuncios, left the diet, and joined the rokosh. On the 4th June another meeting was held at Lublin, which was composed of 100,000 armed nobles. Prince Radziwill was chosen marshal, or chief of the rokosh, and he was commissioned, with Adam Gorayski and Stanislaw Stadnicki, an experienced soldier, but of loose principles, to levy troops. They sent a deputation to the king, requiring him to amend the faults of his government, to maintain the constitution, to

The king attempts in vain to negotiate with the discontented party.

* They were prince James Radziwill, grand cup-bearer of Lithuania, Stanislaw Stadnicki, Adam Gorayski, Martinus Broniewski; "*hæreticorum ante-signorum*," says Lubinski,

acknowledge publicly his guilt, and to ask pardon of the nation at the general meeting which was to be assembled at Sandomir on the 6th August, at which every noble was called on to appear, under pain of forfeiting the privileges of his order. Prince Ostrogski arrived at Lublin with a considerable force, but took no decisive part in the stirring deliberations of the rokosh.

Preparations of the king and his partisans against the rokosh; temporary reconciliation between the two parties.

The negotiations between the monarch and the rokosh having produced no effect, the king ordered Zolkiewski, grand-general of Poland, to advance with the troops which were quartered in the south-eastern provinces. Several lords of the royal party, and chiefly the Potockis, assembled about three thousand men of their household troops; Zolkiewski* also arrived with three thousand well-disciplined and experienced soldiers, and a confederation of nobles, for the support of the king, assembled at Vislitz. The numerous, but irregular forces of the insurgents, were meanwhile constantly decreasing, by the desertion of many nobles, who returned to their homes; so that when the opposite armies met together at Janowiec on the Vistula, the royal party was the stronger. Zebrzydowski was obliged to ask pardon of the king, and the consideration of the grievances was referred to the next diet, which

* Zolkiewski was one of the most eminent characters in Poland. He fell in a battle with the Turks, in 1620.

was to assemble on the 9th May, 1607. This momentary triumph of the king by no means allayed the general discontent, and, without awaiting the appointed diet, a new rokosh assembled at Andrzejov.* It was convened by Zebrzydowski and Radziwill, who were again chosen its leaders; and when its numbers began to increase, it was resolved to assemble an army, and to enforce redress. Some even projected the dethronement of the king, and the election of Gabriel Battory, prince of Transylvania, and nephew to the deceased king Stephen. Meanwhile, the diet met at Warsaw, and in order to prevent civil war, appointed a commission to examine the grievances of the rokosh. This commission being directed by the royal party, was not an independent one; and it manifested its partiality to the king by resolving, that should the accusers fail to prove the guilt of the monarch, they should be punished themselves. The rokosh instantly protested against the competency of such a tribunal; they refused to lay down their arms, and demanded that the king should give pledges that he would comply with their resolutions, of which the principal were, the expulsion of the Jesuits, the removal of some obnoxious persons, and the recognition of several limitations

Renewal of the rokosh.

A commission appointed by the diet, in order to examine the grievances of the rokosh, which protests against it on account of its partiality.

* A town in the palatinate of Cracow.

The king presents to the senate an apology for his conduct, and the diet enacts several regulations, in order to remove the grievances presented by the rokosh, and then summons that assembly to dissolve under pain of being held guilty of high treason.

of the royal power. The rokosh had many partisans amongst the members of the diet, which produced a strong effect on the king and his council. He, therefore, delivered to the senate, (composed of fifteen palatines and twenty-five castellans) his apology; and on the 28th May, 1607, regulations were adopted for removing the political and religious grievances of the rokosh. According to these regulations, the king assured independence at a future election of a sovereign. A council of senators was constantly to watch the actions of the monarch. He was not to grant any dignities to foreigners, but to distribute them, and all the charges and offices, according to merit, and without any regard to religious creed. The annates were to be paid, without exception, into the public treasury, whether the Pope should consent or not. Litigations concerning tithes, estates, and all other property which, having once belonged to the Roman Catholic church, had been taken by the Protestants, were suspended for an unlimited period. Affairs relating to the property of the church, and of the clergy, were to be submitted to the ordinary tribunals, and the mixed ones were to be abolished, as were also appeals to Rome in all cases whatsoever. The most ample securities and privileges were given to the Eastern church. After having adopted these regulations,

the diet pronounced further attendance at the rokosh a crime of high treason, and again summoned its members to disarm.

The rokosh having again rejected the summons of the diet, the king marched against the insurgents with a choice army, comprised chiefly of the veteran troops of Zolkiewski and those of Chodkiewicz, drawn for that purpose from Livonia, which they had been defending against the Swedes. The insurgents were marching on Warsaw with but seven thousand men, for many nobles who had been loudest in declamation had abandoned the camp from various motives, and returned home. Their forces were further diminished by the desertion of Stadnicki, who left them with five hundred horsemen. Both armies met on the banks of the Pilitza, by which they were separated. The royal army effected its passage under the cover of its artillery, but when the two bodies came into close contact, they began to join in friendly intercourse, and the signal of attack given by Zolkiewski was disregarded by his troops, who demanded a reconciliation with the opposite party, and chose delegates to examine with them the reasons of this civil discord. Zebrzydowski, however, instead of taking advantage of a circumstance so favourable to him, destroyed its effect by an injudicious command to his troops to retire, in order to fall back on an auxiliary force which was approaching, for the purpose of

The king
marches
against the
insurgents.

seizing Cracow by a *coup de main*. The royal troops being left in such a manner, took offence, returned to their duty, and solemnly promised to their commanders to amend their fault on the field of battle. Prince Ostrogski, at the head of a considerable force, could have decided the battle in favour of either party: but he remained neutral. An engagement took place on the 6th July 1807, near a village called Guzow. The insurgents were commanded in the centre by Zebrzydowski, and at the wings by Radziwill and Herbert; whilst the royal forces were commanded in the centre by the brothers Potocki, and the wings by Zolkiewski and Chodkiewicz. Notwithstanding the superiority of the royal army in respect of numbers, discipline, and the experience of the men and the skill of the leaders, the beginning of the battle was favourable to the insurgents. Radziwill broke, by a successful attack, the wing commanded by Chodkiewicz, and some of his troopers penetrated to within a short distance of the royal tent. The king, notwithstanding the advice which was given to him to fly to the other wing, remained in his position, and his firmness contributed much to the gaining of the battle, which the insurgents lost chiefly through the cowardice or treachery of one of their officers, called Laszcz, who, instead of supporting Herbert, himself gave the signal for flight. The insurgents were dispersed, and two of the principal

Battle of
Guzow, and
defeat of the
insurgents.

leaders, Herburt and Penkoslawski, taken prisoners and condemned to death, but the sentence was not executed. The insurgents, although defeated, were by no means annihilated. Radziwill proclaimed the election of a new monarch, and Zebrzydowski remained in a place of concealment, awaiting the time when the royal troops should separate, and appeared again in the field as soon as the Potockis had retired with a part of the army into the south-eastern provinces of Poland. The inclination towards acts of severity and despotism, which the king and his advisers manifested on this occasion, assisted the cause of the insurgents; for many of those who had supported the king against them withdrew, lest they should promote an increase of royal power dangerous to the liberties of the nation. The royal and Jesuitical party, was, therefore unable to produce a bloody reaction, for which the clergy exhibited an evident wish at the synod of Piotrkov, in 1607, which declared null and void all guarantees in favour of religious and political liberty established by the last diet. A general amnesty was proclaimed in the ensuing year, 1608, and the diet of 1609 confirmed the guarantees established by that of 1607.

The insurrection is not quelled by the defeat, but

finally pacified by a general amnesty.

The rokosh, which was fully justified by subsequent events, failed in its object because the parties who composed it were not sufficiently united. The Protestant party, which was strong

Causes which

prevented the
success of the
rokosh.

enough to take the lead, submitted to the chief of the moderate Romanists, whose views were not of a sufficiently determined nature to excite the zeal of his adherents. This party was afraid of the growing influence of the Jesuits, as well as of the despotical tendency of the monarch; they wished to preserve the liberties of their anti-Romanist fellow-citizens, as necessary to their own, but they were unwilling either to break off the connexion with Rome or to change the monarch. Hence so much violence in the deliberations of the insurgents, and so little decision when it behoved them to act. But the chief cause of the unsuccessful issue of this insurrection or rokosh was, as we have already intimated, the indecision of prince Ostrogski, who, by joining it with his party, which comprehended all the nobles of the Greek persuasion, would have rendered the royal cause hopeless. Ostrogski was the real and only leader to whom the anti-Romanist had to look, after they had resolved to maintain their rights by force of arms; and had he enacted such a part, the crown of his country would have been within his reach. But an indecision of character, which seems to have actuated his political as well as religious sentiments, rendered him unfit for the post of a leader, for which his enormous wealth and unbounded influence over the Russian provinces seemed to destine him. We may conclude, then, that the rokosh failed for want of a determined purpose and a proper chief.

CHAPTER VIII.

INCREASED PERSECUTION OF THE ANTI-ROMANIST
CONFESSIONS.

THE consequences of the civil war, in 1606-8, were not favourable to the religious or civil liberties of Poland, although the king had been compelled to confirm them in a solemn manner. The party of re-action being unable to bring any legal measures to bear against them, pursued a system of local persecution, which, although committed in open breach of the laws, was sure to be sheltered from punishment by the favour of a monarch. The deplorable system by which the anti-Romanist confessions were all but annihilated in Poland, produced the most pernicious effects on civil liberty, as well as on the general welfare, of that country. The impunity granted to those who committed crimes in promoting the interests of Rome, opened the door to every kind of abuse, and, which is undoubtedly the greatest misfortune that can befall a free country, weakened all respect for the law.

Consequences of the civil war unfavourable to the anti-Romanist.

System of local persecution, exercised against them.

We have already described the destruction of

Violences repeatedly committed against the Protestants at Cracow.

the Protestant church of Cracow, in 1591, which compelled the congregation to transfer their place of worship to the village of Alexandrowice, in the vicinity of that capital. During the civil war the pupils of the university invaded the Protestant burial-ground, dug up several graves, and tore out and mutilated the dead bodies; they likewise destroyed the Protestant hospital, or asylum for old people. The Protestants being suspected of favouring the rokosh, the elders of the congregation were arrested and their papers examined: but as no proofs of that accusation could be found, they were released. On the 20th May 1610, the students, accompanied by a mob, attacked the house of a Protestant burgher called Schmid, and completely pillaged it. The rector of the university ordered that affair to be investigated, but no redress was obtained. In January 1611, the pupils of the colleges of St. Michael and St. Stephen attacked a Protestant funeral procession, and ill-treated the persons who attended it. The complaints which were made on this subject produced no other effect than irritating still more the persecutors, who openly prepared for new aggressions. On the 12th May, in the same year, the pupils and the mob began to attack the house of a Protestant lady called Zagrzebski. The inmates having protested in vain against this violence, were obliged for their defence to fire upon the assailants, by which

many were wounded ; the garrison, which had meanwhile arrived, dispersed the rioters, and restored order : but only for a short time. The pupils assembled together, and having learnt that the troops were forbidden to fire with ball-cartridge, decided on renewing their attacks, which, as the troops were unable, for the reason we have mentioned, to offer effective resistance, was taken and pillaged. But as the riot continued on the following day, the authorities of the town became afraid of serious consequences, and ordered the troops to put it down by force.

Several rioters were killed—others, however, received no punishment ; and the commander of the garrison was prosecuted for murder, but acquitted. The Protestant synod of Oksza in 1613, deliberated on the means of saving their confession from the imminent peril in which it was placed by the persecution carried on, not only at Cracow, but in several other parts of Poland. They ordered public fasts and prayers ; representations were also made to the diet, but without any effect, as the influence of the Jesuits, abetted by the king, was rapidly gaining ground amongst all classes of society. The same year (1613) in April, the pupils of Cracow made an expedition from Cracow to the village of Alexandrowice, whither, as we have seen, the reformed congregation had transferred their place of worship. They attacked it unexpectedly ; one clergyman, named

The Protestant place of worship at Alexandrowice is attacked by the students of Cracow, who commit great excesses on that occasion.

Herman, succeeded in making his escape ; but another, called Bytner, a very old man, was seized by the ruffians, and dragged into the fields, where, having received many wounds, and had the fingers of his left hand cut off, he was left for dead. He, however, providentially recovered, but his house was pillaged and burnt. Another Protestant clergyman, of the name of Habicht, was murdered with a club by a master of the university called Grykcza. These enormities were not even prosecuted, as there were no hopes of obtaining redress ; and the Protestants were obliged to remove their place of worship to a place more distant, called Lucianowice. In 1615, the pupils of the university attacked the house of a wealthy Protestant jeweller, and pillaged it ; but the riot was quelled by the armed guards of the bishop of Cracow, Tylicki, who disapproved of such violence. These repeated assaults produced their natural effects, and the Protestant citizens resolved on abandoning a place where there was no security for their lives and property ; but as they composed an industrious and wealthy class, the authorities did every thing to prevent their departure, which, they felt, must be injurious to the welfare of the town ; and the king issued an order, forbidding any molestation of Protestants. Many rich citizens, however, transferred their residence to Thorn and Dantzic, and their emigration considerably injured the commerce and industry of

Many Protestant citizens emigrate from Cracow, which produces an injurious effect on the welfare of the town.

Cracow. In 1617 the pupils seized Lyszkowicz, a Protestant physician, and dragged him through the streets to the river, in order to drown him, but fortunately he was rescued from imminent death by some of the professors. In 1620, on the 20th of May, the pupils attacked the funeral procession of a lady named Hunter, belonging to the Scotch congregation of Cracow.* The soldiers who arrived to restore order, dared not fire on the aggressors; but the Scotch snatched the guns from the soldiers, and blood was on the point of being shed. Fortunately some persons interposed, and the pupils, having received money, retired. In 1621 the shop of an armourer, called Hengler, was pillaged by the students, and no redress was obtained. In 1624, the municipality, instigated by the clergy, passed a resolu-

Continuation
of the persecu-
tions at Cra-
cow.

* Many Scotch families settled in Poland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where they resided some for commercial purposes, some as military adventurers, and some, perhaps, because they found a safe asylum during the religious commotions which disturbed their own as well as many other countries. They had large congregations at Cracow, Posnania, Keydany (a town in Lithuania), and at Lissa or Leszno, the heritage of the illustrious family of Lesczynski. They became thoroughly Poles, and many Scotch names, such as Haliburton, Gordon, Middleton, Watson, &c., are found amongst the Polish gentry. Several others, as Forbes, Inglis, &c. are extinct, but are well known. There was a celebrated Polish author descended from these families, Dr. Johnston, who wrote several works on natural philosophy.

tion that the freedom of the city should not be granted to any Protestants. This resolution, however, was abrogated in the following reign. In 1626, when the Protestant congregation made preparations for building a church at Lucianowice, whither they had removed their place of worship from Alexandrowice, believing it more safe from aggression, on account of its being further from Cracow, the pupils of the university invaded that place and destroyed the materials for building; and when one of their party died from over exertion, he was buried with great solemnity, as a martyr in a good cause. In 1631, a general pillage of the principal Protestant inhabitants was attempted by the pupils and the mob; the jewellers' shops of Brecket and Strachan, and the houses of Barend and Forbes were plundered, and a great deal of valuable property carried away. A judicial inquiry was ordered, but it ended in nothing.

The Protestant churches of Posnania remained in peace till 1605, but at length the Jesuits, perceiving that the polemical writings which they constantly issued against the Protestants, did not produce the desired effect, resolved on adopting more active measures. In 1605 the Jesuit Piasecki publicly recommended the use of violence against the Protestants, and he addressed his congregation from the pulpit, saying, "People of God, destroy and burn their temples." This recommendation was soon put into execution,

and the Lutheran church was set on fire, but the flames were extinguished in time. A similar attempt against the Bohemian church having failed, the Jesuits resolved on an open attack; and three hundred of their pupils, accompanied by a crowd of the lowest of the mob, attacked the Lutheran church, pillaged the costly furniture, destroyed and burned the edifice, and profaned the graves. The Jesuits publicly approved of these enormities committed by their pupils, maintaining that they were actuated by zeal for their religion, which recommends the extirpation of heresy. A judicial inquiry into the matter took place, but no redress was obtained. The Lutherans rebuilt their church; but, in 1614, it was again destroyed in the same manner as before, and the bishop of Posnania prevented the Lutherans from building a new one. In 1616, the churches of the Bohemian brethren were destroyed in the same manner as those of the Lutheran, and the spirit of persecution became so strong, that no Protestant clergyman durst appear in that town. 1630, John Chrisostom, minister of the Bohemian confession, was discovered in that town by the pupils of the Jesuit college, and he escaped with his life only through the interposition of the rector of that school. The Lutheran clergyman, James Hedric, was murdered (1632) not far from Posnania, by assassins who had purposely lain

Destruction of the Protestant churches of Posnania, at the instigation of the Jesuits, who openly recommended such violence.

Martyrdom of
a young Italian
at Vilna.

in wait for him.* Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, became the scene of a particularly tragic event. A young Italian, named Franco, had arrived in Poland, a zealous Romanist, but having studied the Protestant doctrines in order to combat them, he became a convert to the scriptural religion, and propagated its principles after his return to his native land. He afterwards visited Poland, where he publicly embraced the reformed religion, and became a minister at Vilna. In the year 1611, on the day of the Roman Catholic festival of Corpus Christi, after having preached a sermon in his church, he went out into the streets where he met a solemn procession, by which the above-mentioned festival is celebrated. The bishop, accompanied by the king and the royal family, was carrying the host. Franco's zeal was excited at the sight of the ceremony, which he considered as idolatrous: he mounted on the steps of an altar prepared for the bishop, and began to upbraid the people with their idolatry, declaring that the sacrament which they worshipped was nothing but bread. The crowd was struck with astonishment, but remained quiet. Franco was arrested, and accused of having meditated the murder, either of the king or of the bishop. He boldly answered, that the

* Vide Lukaszewicz's History of the Protestant churches at Posnania.

Romanists had authorized and committed the murder of sovereigns in France, Belgium, and England; but that he wanted only to instruct the people. He admonished the bishop at the same time to abandon his idolatry. A large crowd of people listened with great interest and sympathy to his defence: they were turned out of the court, and Franco was condemned to death. Having rejected all proposals of embracing Romanism, he was executed in the most barbarous manner in the yard of the castle, and at a very early hour. This judicial murder committed on a foreigner, who was not protected by the privileges of the Polish nobility, shews what a bloody reaction would have taken place in Poland, if the power of the king and his advisers had not been circumscribed by those privileges. The Jesuits did not lose the opportunity which the excitement produced in the mob by the tragical case of Franco afforded them, of making an attack on the Protestants. On the day following that of Franco's execution, a mob, headed by the pupils of the Jesuits, attacked the Protestant church at Vilna, destroyed and burned it entirely, and committed great violence against the ministers.* The Jesuits published at the same time a

* We must not omit the mention of a circumstance relating to that event, which to our knowledge has not been recorded in any work extant, but which we have heard at Vilna as a tradition

Persecution at
Lublin and
other places.

pamphlet, in justification of these atrocities, representing them as pious and praiseworthy deeds. The mind of the nation was, however, not yet sufficiently degraded to approve of such proceedings, and the Jesuits feeling this themselves, suppressed the work. Similar scenes were enacted at Lublin, and in many other places; but as they were merely a repetition of those which we have

tradition preserved amongst the Protestants of that place. When the infuriated mob was dragging in the streets the Protestant ministers, whose destruction seemed to be inevitable, the Franciscan monks arrived in a body, and demanded that the Protestant ministers should be delivered to them, because they had the right to judge and punish them, as it was in the parish belonging to their convent that these ministers had preached. The mob listened to this representation, and the ministers were conducted to the Franciscan convent, where they found not the torments of the inquisition, but the charitable offices of the good Samaritan. They were treated by those christian-minded friars with the most tender care; and when recovered from the effects of the ill-usage they had received, conducted to a place of safety. We thought ourselves bound in duty (and we consider it a most pleasing one) to bring forward this hitherto-unrecorded fact, so creditable to the ministers of a church, to which we are opposed, and whose errors we deplore. We are convinced that many similar traits of a noble and Christian character might be found amongst our Romanist countrymen, had they not been neglected, and perhaps purposely suppressed by the anti-national faction of the Jesuits, who would consider similar traits worthy rather of blame than of praise. And, indeed, we find in their works every act of hostility committed against the anti-Romanist confessions, extolled as a signal proof of Christian piety.

already related, they do not require any particular description. We must not, however, omit to mention the judicial murder of John Tyskiewicz, a burgher of the town of Bielsk, belonging to the queen Constantia, an archduchess of Austria. Being a Socinian, he refused to swear, on a public occasion, in the name of the Trinity. He was accused before the tribunal, which acquitted him; but the devout queen made such efforts to have him punished, that he was executed on the 16th November, 1611. At the same time the Romanist clergy endeavoured to annihilate the liberty of the press, as an instrument dangerous to their domination. Bolestraszycki, a learned Protestant noble, translated a French work, entitled *Nouveauté du Papisme opposée à l'antiquité du Christianisme*, written by Peter du Moulins, a celebrated Protestant divine of the school of Sedan, and dedicated it to princess Anna, sister of the king,* in 1624. The bishop of Przemyśl

Judicial murder of Tyskiewicz.

Attempt at curtailing the liberty of the press.

* It is very remarkable that Anna, sister of Sigismund the Third, was a zealous Protestant, and that all the attempts to convert her to Romanism made by that monarch, who had a great regard for her, were unavailing. She died at Strasburg (a town in Polish Prussia), where she generally resided, 1635. (a)

Puffendorff,

(a) Sigismund requested of the Pope permission to bury her remains in the royal vault of Cracow; but as it was refused, his son and successor, Vladislav the 4th, ordered them, (1636,) to be buried at Thorn, according to the rites of the Lutheran church, and with all the pomp due to her rank.

prosecuted him before the tribunal of Lublin, on a charge of blasphemy. The church, and the influence of the clergy, had already become so strong, that a sentence condemning Bolestraszycki to civil death was obtained. This sentence was, however, reversed by the next diet ; yet it proved how much the public opinion had already retrograded, through the increased activity of the Jesuits and their party.

Persecution of
the Eastern
church.

The fate of the Eastern church of Poland was intimately connected with that of the Protestant confessions, for it was their common interest to oppose the Romanist party, which persecuted them all equally. We have already described the union with Rome, effected by the synod of Brest, in Lithuania, in 1596, and the consequent oppression of those who resisted that measure, as well as the attempt made in 1599 by the Protestants and the followers of the Eastern church to unite for mutual defence. The rights and privileges of the Greek church were solemnly

Puffendorf, in his history of Sweden, relates that when her mother, Catherine Jaguillon, was on her death-bed, she was so much tormented by the fear of purgatory, that her confessor, the Jesuit Warszewicki, (a celebrated author,) took compassion on her, and told her that purgatory was nothing but a fable invented for common people. These words were overheard by the young princess Anna, who stood behind a curtain of the bed of her mother, and induced her to study the Scriptures, and to become a convert to the Protestant religion.

confirmed by the diets of 1607 and 1609, and new guarantees were given to its followers. The king was bound not to grant any dignities or offices in the Russian provinces, except to their inhabitants professing the tenets of the above-mentioned church. Its possessions were declared inviolable, and a tribunal composed of members of both professions was appointed, for the purpose of repressing acts of violence between the adherents of Rome and those who remained obedient to the patriarch of Constantinople. But the influence of the Jesuits unfortunately succeeded in rendering nugatory these wise enactments; and they found in Sigismund the Third a willing tool. Despite the solemn guarantees which we have mentioned, the persecution against the opponents of the union was continued, under the pretext that as the Greek synod of Brest, in 1596, had formally accepted the union with Rome, those bishops only who adhered to it were to be considered lawfully appointed, whilst those who persevered in obedience of the patriarch of Constantinople were necessarily usurpers. Rudzki, the archbishop of the united church, whom the Romanist authors called, on account of his zeal, the Athanasius of Russia, promoted the union with a high hand, and by great oppression of the adverse party, whose sufferings were eloquently described in a work, entitled "The Lament of the Oriental Church," by

Riot produced
at Mohilev by
the forced
union with
Rome.

Meletius Smotricki, a learned divine of that church.* Discontent was rapidly increasing amongst the populations of the Eastern provinces, and the inhabitants of Mohilev† gave, in 1618, the first sign of open resistance to that forced union with Rome, to which, for some time, they had apparently submitted. The clergy, who had acknowledged the union, were expelled, and replaced by such as were opposed to it. The names of the Pope and the king of Poland were erased from the Liturgy, and those of the patriarch of Constantinople and of the Turkish emperor substituted. This proves what a strong feeling must have existed in the Russian provinces of Poland against Muscovy: when oppressed on account of their religion, they turned their eyes to the distant and Mahometan Turkey rather than to the neighbouring state, which professed the same creed with them. The resistance of Mohilev led to an

* It was published in Polish (1610) at Vilna. Smotricki was for some time supposed to favour Protestantism, which was embraced by many nobles and clergymen of the Greek church; but he remained faithful to his creed, and became archbishop of Polotzk. After a long opposition, he finally submitted to Rome. (Vide Historical Dictionary of the Writers of the Greek church in Russia and Poland, by Eugene, metropolitan of Kiof.)

† A considerable town situated on the Dnieper, now the capital of a Russian government.

increased severity against the opponents of Rome, and a judicial decree condemned (1619) the leaders of the insurrection to death; at the same time ordering all the churches of the town to be delivered to the archbishop of Polotzk. The Anti-roman party was, however, far from being crushed, and they assembled (1620) in synod at Kiof, protected by Peter Konaszewicz, hettman of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, a zealous adherent of the oriental church, and a warrior distinguished by his services against Muscovy and the Turks. This synod elected archbishops of Kiof and Polotzk and bishops of Leopold, Przemyśl, and Lutzk, all of whom were consecrated by Theophilus, patriarch of Jerusalem, who had arrived at Kiof, on his return from Moscow to the east. Thus the oriental church of Poland had two hierarchies opposed to each other. Meanwhile, the persecution of the Greeks was continued with great severity, particularly by the archbishop of Polotzk, Josephat Koncewicz, a prelate of irreproachable life, but blindly devoted to the interests of Rome. Having met with great opposition, he proceeded against his antagonists with such violence as to excite alarm amongst the wiser part of the nation. Leon Sapieha, chancellor and grand general of Lithuania, one of the most eminent statesmen the country has produced, strongly represented to Koncewicz the danger of his proceedings, which he described to

The Greek clergy opposed to Rome assemble a synod at Kiof, where new bishops are elected in the place of those who had accepted the union.

Josephat Koncewicz, archbishop of Polotzk, of the united Greek church, persecutes the opponents of Rome with much violence.

Letter of the chancellor Sapieha, remonstrating against the blind zeal of Koncewicz.

him as not only unpolitic but also as unchristian.*

* This letter was dated Warsaw, 12th March 1622. After representing the general irritation produced by the persecution he had indulged in, and the dangers which might be caused by it, Sapieha says : " By the abuse of your authority, and by your actions, which originate rather in vanity and personal hatred than in charity towards your neighbours, and are contrary to the laws of our country, you have kindled those dangerous sparks which may produce an all-consuming fire. Obedience to the laws of the country is more necessary than the union with Rome. An ill-judged propagation of the union injures the majesty of the sovereign. It is right to labour that there be but one fold and one shepherd ; but it is also necessary to labour with reflection, and not to apply the *cogi intrare*, which is contrary to our laws. A general union can be promoted by charity only, and not by force, wherefore it is no wonder that your authority meets with opposition. You inform me that your life is in danger ; but I think that it is your own fault. You tell me that you are bound to imitate the ancient bishops by sufferings ; the imitation of the great pastors is indeed praiseworthy, and you should imitate their piety, doctrine, and meekness. Read their lives, and you will not find that they brought indictments before the tribunals of Antioch or Constantinople, whilst all the courts of justice are busied with your prosecutions. You say that you must seek defence against the agitators ; Christ being persecuted, did not seek for it, but prayed for his persecutors : so ought you likewise to act, instead of scattering offensive writings, or utter menaces, of which the apostles have left no example. Your sanctity assumes that you are permitted to despoil schismatics and to cut off their heads ; the gospels teach the contrary. This union has created great mischief ; you offer violence to consciences, and you shut churches, so that Christians perish like infidels, without worship or sacraments. You abuse the authority of the monarch, without even having asked permission

His letter, an extract of which will be found in the subjoined note, gives us a fair idea of the violence of the Romanist party, as well as of the mischiefs which they were inflicting on the country. But the influence of the Jesuits was already strong enough to render nugatory the efforts which the enlightened chancellor, Sapieha, was making to arrest the growing evil. Koncewicz pursued his career of oppression until the inhabitants of Vitepsk, who had on many occasions distinguished themselves by their loyalty to the crown of Poland, excited by certain priests, rose, and murdered the intolerant prelate on the 12th July 1623. Koncewicz received the honours of

Murder of Koncewicz by the inhabitants of Vitepsk, exasperated by his persecution.

to make use of it. When your proceedings cause disturbances, you directly write to us that it is necessary to banish the opponents of the union; God forbid that our country should be disgraced by such enormities. Whom have you converted by your severities? You have alienated the hitherto loyal Cossacks; you have converted sheep into goats; you have drawn danger on the country, and perhaps even destruction on the Catholics. The union has not produced joy, but only discord, quarrels, and disturbance. It would have been much better if it had never taken place. Now, I inform you that by the king's command, the churches must be opened and restored to the Greeks, that they may perform divine service. We do not prohibit Jews and Mahomedans from having their places of worship, and yet you are shutting up Christian temples. I receive threats from every part that all connexion with us will be broken off. The union has already deprived us of Starodub, Severia, and many other towns and fortresses. Let us beware that this union do not cause yours and our destruction," &c. &c.

canonization (1643). No revolt against the civil authorities followed on the tumult, but, severe punishment was inflicted on the town by a commission presided over by the chancellor, who had tried in vain to prevent the deplorable occurrence.

Severe punishment of that crime.

The two consuls, or aldermen of the town, and eighteen principal citizens were punished with death ; several escaped by flight ; and many were condemned to banishment, and their property confiscated. The town-hall and the anti-unionist churches were destroyed, and the franchises of the city abolished, but restored under the subsequent reign. The moderation of Sapieha diminished the number of victims, which would have been much larger had the commission been entrusted to some devoted tool of the Jesuits.

The severity exercised towards Vitepsk may be justified by the necessity of maintaining public order and respect for law ; but justice ought to be evenhanded, and when the murderers of a prelate, whose persecution had reduced them to despair, were punished in such a manner, those who had wantonly destroyed the anti-Romanist churches and murdered their clergy, should have been visited with condign punishment. Such, however, was not the case, as we have had ample opportunities of shewing. The oppression of the Greeks produced an insurrection amongst the Cossacks of the Ukraine, which, however, being

only partial, was suppressed without much difficulty; but, the cause of discontent remained, and produced, in less than half a century, the loss of that important province of the empire.



CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE REIGN OF SIGISMUND

THE THIRD.

THE long reign of Sigismund III. (1586-1632), is now acknowledged on all hands to have been the origin of the decline and consequent fall of Poland. At his accession to the throne, the country had reached the acmé of prosperity. Under the vigorous rule of Stephen Battory, Poland had humbled Muscovy and inspired all its neighbours with respect. The country was flourishing; religious liberty, which Poland enjoyed in a degree unknown at that time to other countries, produced a most favourable effect on the development of the national mind. Literature and science rose in the short space of half a century to an eminence which placed Poland on a par with the most enlightened nations of Europe. Equally happy were the effects of toleration

Prosperous
state of Poland
at the accession
of Sigismund
III.

on commerce and industry ; for many foreigners sought in Poland a refuge from the religious persecution to which they were exposed in their native land, and transferred to their adopted country their talents, wealth, and activity. Thus, Italian Protestant congregations existed at Cracow, Vilna, and Posnania; as also did German, French, and Scotch, by whose immigration the towns of Poland, which from an early period had been invested with all the franchises of the German cities, rapidly increased in population and wealth. This prosperous state of things had undergone a melancholy change by the close of that monarch's reign. The important province of Livonia was irrecoverably lost, and a part of Prussia occupied by the Swedes. The south-eastern provinces of the empire were ripe for the revolt which afterwards shook Poland to its very foundation ; and the borders were devastated by the incursions of the Turks and Tartars. Discontent prevailed everywhere ; and an exhausted treasury and a diminution of the general comforts of the country complete the melancholy picture.

Melancholy condition of the country at the demise of that monarch.

Causes which produced that unfortunate change.

What, then, was the cause of a state of things so lamentable, from which Poland, declining gradually until it fell into that state of torpor which rendered it an easy prey to its ambitious neighbours, never recovered ? We have no hesitation in answering emphatically, that the Jesuits and their

wretched tool, Sigismund the Third, were the cause and origin of the ruin of the country. Already have we described the persecution of the anti-Romanists, which the influence of the Jesuits succeeded in effecting in various parts of Poland, even in direct opposition to the laws of the country. We must now briefly delineate the effects which that body produced upon national education and foreign relations during the reign of Sigismund the Third; and, in order to avoid the suspicion of partiality, which may be imputed to us as to a Protestant writer, we shall support our opinion by the evidence of Romanist writers whose orthodoxy was never called in question.

Religious intolerance.

We have described the introduction of the Jesuits into our country by Cardinal Hosius, and the rapid progress which they made when supported by the favour of Stephen Battory. Their influence over Sigismund the Third, who was educated by them, was unlimited, and he gloried in the nickname of the King of the Jesuits, which was given him by their antagonists. His chief favourites were Quaternus, Golynski, and Skarga, who is considered as the first orator of the Polish pulpit; and the king became a mere tool in the hands of these disciples of Loyola, who directed all his actions. Their patronage was the only road to preferment, and it could be secured only by a display of zeal for the interests of Rome in general, and of those of their order in particular.

Pernicious influence of the Jesuits on national education.

The consequence was, that the chief dignities of the state, and the rich starosties or domains of the crown, were obtained, not by services rendered to the state, but by a zealous profession of Romanism and munificent donations bestowed on the order of the Jesuits. It was but natural, therefore, that their riches should increase so rapidly that they could reckon, by 1627, 400,000 dollars* of yearly income—an enormous sum at that time! Their colleges spread over Poland, and they possessed fifty schools, in which the greatest part of the children of the nobles were educated; so that they obtained the great object of their efforts—the superintendence of national education—which they justly considered as the surest means of firmly establishing their influence, or rather dominion, in the country. There were, it is true, several Protestant schools in Poland, in which the system of education was far superior to that of the Jesuits; but, as they were supported by voluntary contributions, they were unable to compete with those of their antagonists, which had ample and perpetual endowments. Many of the Protestant schools derived their chief support from the liberality of great families, and ceased to exist, or were converted into Romanist establishments, as soon as their patrons returned into the pale of the old church.

* About £100,000 of the present.

Now, let us examine the system and results of the education which was received in the schools and colleges of the Jesuits. They had contrived, from the date of the foundation of their order, to gain a reputation for zeal and ability in the promotion of science and literature. This reputation, which was supported by the eminent talents and acquirements of several of their members, had been a strong recommendation in their favour with King Stephen Battory, who was a great patron of learning; and it also exercised similar influence over the minds of many others.

This opinion, however, was by no means general, and we have seen that the great Zamoyski, who was no mean authority on this subject, excluded them from the academy which he founded at Zamosc. The real system and tendency of their education was admirably described by Broscius* (Brozek), a zealous Romanist, and the

* Broscius was born in 1581. Having acquired a profound knowledge of mathematics, as well as of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, he became doctor of philosophy, 1609, and taught mathematics for many years. In 1620, he went to Padua to study medicine, and having received the degree of a doctor of that science, he returned to Cracow, after an absence of four years, and two years afterwards became professor of eloquence. The bishop of Cracow, by whom he was patronized, induced him to take orders, as the best means to make his fortune, and he received, 1636, a rich living, and some years afterwards was created doctor of divinity and canon of the chapter of Cracow. He was elected rector of the University, but died shortly

most learned man of his time in Poland, in a work published in Polish, about 1620, under the title "Dialogue between a Landowner and a Parish Priest." It excited the violent anger of the Jesuits; but as they were unable to wreak their vengeance on the author himself it fell on the printer, who, at their instigation, was publicly flogged and afterwards banished. We shall pass over the many accusations against the order contained in that book, which have been reproduced in many works published on the same subject in several countries, and give an extract relating to their system of education:—

"The Jesuits," he says, "teach children the grammar of Alvar,* which is very difficult to understand and learn, and much time is spent at it. This they do for many reasons: 1st. That, by keeping the child a long time in the school they

shortly afterwards (1652). He was a metaphysician, mathematician, astronomer, physician, linguist, rhetorician, poet, divine, and even musician. So many accomplishments, united in the same person, acquired for him the appellation of a walking encyclopædia. He enjoyed the general respect of his countrymen as to his extraordinary acquirements, and united a noble and upright character. Such was the man who denounced the preposterous system of education adopted by the Jesuits.—Vide History of the University of Cracow, by Soltykowicz; and an excellent article written by Mr. Borosdine, in the Encyclopedial Dictionary, in Russian, which is now in progress of publication at St. Petersburg.

* A Spanish Jesuit, who published a Latin grammar, in the sixteenth century, which the Jesuit made use of in Poland to the very last.

may receive as long as possible the above-mentioned presents, (he had proved in another part of his work that the Jesuits received in gifts from the parents of the children, whom they pretended to educate gratis, much more than they would have done had there been a regular payment). 2d. That by keeping children for a long time in the school they may become well acquainted with their minds. 3d. That they may train the boy according to their own plans and for their own purposes. 4th. That in case the friends of the boy wish to take him from them they may have a pretence to keep him, saying, ' Give him time, at least, to learn grammar, which is the foundation of every other knowledge.' 5th. They want to keep boys at the school till the age of manhood, that they may engage for their order those who shew much talent or expect large inheritances. But, when an individual possesses no talents, nor has expectations, they will not retain him. And what can he do? Knowing nothing, and being unfit for any useful occupation, he must request the fathers to take care of him, who will provide him with an inferior office in the household of some benefactor of theirs, that they may make use of him afterwards as a tool for their views and purposes."*

* We have extracted the passage from Bentkowski's History of the Polish Literature, Warsaw, 1816, vol. i. p. 150.

Its effects on
the national
literature.

Experience has fully justified the accusations of Broscius. By the end of the reign of Sigismund the Third, by which time the Jesuits had become almost exclusive masters* of public education, national literature had declined, even as rapidly as it had advanced during the preceding century. It is remarkable, indeed, that Poland, which, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the reign of Sigismund the Third (1632), produced many splendid works on different branches of human knowledge, in the national as well as the Latin language, can scarcely boast of any work of merit from that epoch to the second part of the eighteenth century—the period of the unlimited sway of the Jesuits over the national education !

* The University of Cracow had a hard struggle with the Jesuits, who did every thing to get possession of this ancient seat of learning. They tried to establish a high school of their own at Cracow, which would have facilitated the final accomplishment of the object. This occasioned a violent quarrel between the Jesuits and the University, which was supported on that occasion by all the monastic orders. The quarrel was decided in favour of the University by the diet of 1628, and a papal bull of 1634 prohibited its renewal. The University of Cracow was, however, of little use to the progress of science and literature in Poland. It had no inferior schools to oppose to those of the Jesuits, and the fear of heretical innovations arrested its progress, and soon reduced it to a state of insignificance, from which it emerged only at the general restoration of science and literature during the second part of the eighteenth century.

The Polish language, which had attained a high degree of perfection during the sixteenth century, the Augustan era of its literature, was soon corrupted by an absurd admixture with Latin and barbaric phrases, called Macaronic, which disgraced Polish literary productions for more than a century. As the chief object of the Jesuits was to combat anti-Romanists, the principal subject of their instructions was polemical divinity ; and the most talented of their students, instead of acquiring the sound knowledge by which they might become useful members of society, lost their time in dialectic subtleties and quibbles. The disciples of Loyola knew well that of all weaknesses to which human nature is subject, vanity is the most accessible, and they were as prodigal of praise to partisans as of abuse to antagonists. Thus, the benefactors of their order became the object of the most fulsome adulation, which nothing but the corrupted taste acquired in their schools could have rendered palatable. Their bombastic panegyrics, lavished on the most unimportant persons, became, towards the end of the seventeenth century, almost the only literature of the country — proof sufficient of the degraded state of the public to which such productions could be acceptable ! In enumerating the lamentable results of the influence of the Jesuits we must not omit the introduction of the censorship, which was established about 1618, though con-

trary to a royal decree of 1539,* proclaiming the liberty of the press. The first *index librorum prohibitorum*, was published by the bishop of Cracow, in 1617. It is almost superfluous to add, that this deplorable condition of the national intellect had the most pernicious effects on the political as well as the social state of the country. The enlightened statesmen who had appeared during the reign of Sigismund the Third, were formed under another system of education, that of the Jesuits could not produce any political character with enlarged views. Some exceptions there are to this general rule, but the views of enlightened men are utterly lost on a public, which, instead of advancing in the paths of knowledge, are trained to forget the sciences and wisdom of their ancestors. It was, therefore, no wonder that sound notions of law and right became obscured, and gave way to absurd prejudices of privilege and caste, by which liberty degenerated into license, whilst the state of the peasantry was degraded into that of prædial servitude.

The all-withering agency of the Jesuits was for a long time counteracted by Zamoyski, who, although he soon lost the favour of the monarch, preserved till his death immense influence over the nation. But as soon as that great citizen was no more, the intolerant bigotry that reigned at

* Vide vol. i. p. 130.

court began to vex the nation. An evident proof of this was given by the tribunal of Lublin, which, by its own authority, promulged laws for crimes against the Roman Catholic church that did not exist on the statute-book of the country. This usurpation by a judicial body of the attributes of the legislation was, however, repressed by the diet of 1627, which annulled such anti-constitutional proceedings, and forbade the judicial authority to take cognizance of subjects not specified by the laws enacted by the national representatives.

We have already mentioned the discontent of the Russian population, created by forcing on them the union with Rome, which ended in an open rebellion. Events not less deplorable were produced by the persecution of the Protestant provinces of Livonia and Prussia.

We have seen the opposition which the inhabitants of Riga, the capital of Livonia, had offered to the introduction of the Jesuits into their city,* during the reign of Stephen Battory, and that the death of that monarch prevented him from compelling the town to submit to the establishment of those unwelcome guests. A deputation of Riga petitioned the diet of 1589 against the Roman Catholic reaction, and the diet appointed a commission to examine that

Effects of the religious intolerance on the provinces of Livonia and Prussia.

* Vide page 61.

grievance. This commission decided that the church should be given to the Roman Catholic clergy, but excluded the Jesuits from the town, in order to prevent a new commotion. This decision was, however, eluded, and the inhabitants of Riga, after a long opposition, were finally obliged to submit to the establishment of the Jesuits in their city; but the discontent which was created amongst the inhabitants of Livonia by the Roman Catholic reaction, greatly facilitated the conquest of that province by Gustavus Adolphus, 1620.*

Fatal influence
of the Roman-
ist party on the
foreign rela-
tions of Po-
land.

The same occurred in Prussia, where several towns scarcely made any resistance to the Swedish hero, although favourable circumstances prevented the loss of that province. The attachment of Sigismund the Third to the Roman Catholic religion deprived him of his hereditary throne of Sweden, which was seized by his uncle, Charles the Ninth, in 1604; and his blind zeal for the same religion destroyed the immense advantages

* The loss of Livonia was chiefly caused by the narrow-minded bigotry of Sigismund the Third, as he refused all assistance to prince Christopher Radziwill, who defended that province against the Swedes. The king hated Radziwill on account of his being a zealous Protestant, and the royal flatterers called the defence of Livonia the Radziwillian war. Thus, in order to prevent a Protestant subject from distinguishing himself, although it was against a Protestant nation, an important province was sacrificed.

which the country would have derived from the accession to the throne of Moscow of his son, Vladislav. This prince was elected tzar by the Muscovites, and would have taken possession of the throne without any opposition : but instead of taking advantage of a circumstance so favourable to Poland, Sigismund refused to confirm the solemn compact concluded to that effect by the Polish general Zolkiewski, and tried to possess himself of the crown of Moscow. His known bigotry and zeal to propagate the union with Rome were too well known, and it led the Muscovites to a desperate resistance against a connexion with Poland, which they had before sought themselves. The influence of his loyalate advisers rendered him entirely subservient to the policy of Austria, whose interests he always promoted to the detriment of those of his own dominions. Thus, when the Bohemians rose in defence of their religious and political liberties against the domination of Austria, instead of following the policy of Kasimir Jaguillon, who, by supporting the same kindred nation against the oppression of the same house, placed a Polish prince on the throne of Bohemia, he sent an auxiliary body of Cossacks to the assistance of Austria, with whom he had concluded an alliance, which being made without the assent of the states, was illegal : 1618 he sent likewise an auxiliary force to Hungary, which greatly contri-

buted to arrest the success of Bethlem Gabor, prince of Transylvania, but which, having irritated the sultan, involved Poland in a war with Turkey, unnecessary and injurious to the interests of the country. But although Poland was reduced to a deplorable condition, the great object of Sigismund's reign was attained; Protestantism was broken, a great part of the Eastern church had submitted to the supremacy of the pope, and the influence of Romanism was rapidly increasing over all the country.*

* Piasecki, a Roman Catholic bishop, gives the following account of the influence which the Jesuits exercised on the councils of Sigismund the Third, and of its effects on the affairs of the country: "*Subter finem ejusdem anni (1616) decesserat quoque, cubiculi regii præfectus, Andreas Bobola, octogenarius. Homo, rudis, morosus, promotus ad illud officium patrocínio sacerdotum societatis Jesu, quod illis in omnibus consentiret. Unde utrique, conjunctâ operâ, in privatis colloquiis, quæ ipsis semper patebant, sollicitantes regem adeo constrixerant, ut omnia consiliis illorum ageret, et aulicorum spes et curæ, non nisi ab eorum favore penderent; quin et in publicis negotiis, isti suggerebant, quid rex decerneret, tanto majori reipublicæ periculo, quod ad hujusmodi familiaritatem regis assumebantur personæ (præsertim confessor et concionator) a scholiis vel a magisterio novitiorum religiosorum, rerum et status politiæ prorsus expertes. Hæcque causa unica fuit errorum, non in domesticis solum sed in publicis, ut Moschicis, Suecis, Livonicisque, regis rationibus et tamen pene sacrilegii crimen reputabatur, si quis tamen eorum dicta factave reprehendisset, et nemini qui non ipsis applauderet, facilis ad dignitates aditus patebat. Chronica gestarum in Europa, ad ann. 1616. Cracoviæ, 1648.*"

CHAPTER X.

ELECTION AND REIGN OF VLADISLAV THE FOURTH.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the strength of the anti-Romanist party was broken by the Roman Catholic re-action that signalized the long reign of Sigismund the Third, it exhibited considerable strength in the interregnum which followed the demise of that monarch.

The diet of convocation, assembled on the 23d June 1632, at Warsaw, solemnly confirmed the religious privileges guaranteed by the constitution and the enactments of the diet of 1627,* so that all illegal decrees of the tribunals directed against the rights of the anti-Romanist confessions and all unconstitutional ordinances of a similar tendency, which the late king had issued at the instigation of the Roman Catholic clergy, were abolished, and the future sovereign warned from imitating such acts.

The diet of convocation confirms the rights of the anti-Romanist confessions.

The seventh article of this enactment declared all Protestant churches belonging to private

* Vide page 205.

SAFE FROM
VIOLATION

individuals inviolable; but imposed some limitations, in that respect, on the towns which immediately depended from the king. The churches which already existed there were to be preserved, but the building of new ones was prohibited, but only to avoid riots, *ad evitandos tumultus*. Domestic service was every where to be respected.

The eighth article enacted, that the ordinary tribunal should be the forum of Protestant clergymen, thus negating a right of trying them to which the Roman Catholic bishops pretended. All the enactments were signed by the primate Wenzyk and five bishops, with the clause, *salvis juribus ecclesiæ Romanæ et excepto articulo confederationis dissidentium*. This diet elected for its marshal, prince Christopher Radziwill, a Protestant, and he endeavoured, with some other anti-Romanist leaders, to obtain the most ample security for the religious liberty of the nation—a step rendered the more necessary by the last-mentioned protest of the bishops. The prince and his associates presented on that occasion twenty articles, which contained no innovation, but a more ample development of the laws already existing. They required that perfect freedom of public worship should be secured to all religious confessions; that all judicial decrees and decisions contrary to the laws of the land should be solemnly annulled; that severe penalties should be enacted against the disturbers of reli-

The anti-Romanists seek to obtain a more ample development and a better guarantee of their rights.

gious peace ; that all differences between the Roman Catholic clergy and persons belonging to anti-Romanist confessions should be judged of by the ordinary tribunals ; and that appeals to the Papal Nuncio or to Rome should be entirely abolished ; that the anti-Romanists should have a right to make foundations, and to leave bequests to foundations, in favour of their own churches, schools, and for other pious and charitable purposes ; and that all such foundations should be as valid and legal as those of the Roman Catholic church. As the late king had bestowed dignities almost exclusively on Romanists, it was demanded that they should be granted because of merit, but without any regard to the religious persuasion of individuals. But the most important demand was, that the religious privileges which were enjoyed by the nobles should be extended to the towns and to the peasants.

These just demands excited the violent anger of the Romanist party, and they decided at a meeting, held in the house of the primate, to oppose them, as unduly extending the rights and privileges already possessed by the anti-Romanist confessions. At the same time, Birkowski, a celebrated preacher of the order of St. Dominick, attacked the Protestants in the most virulent manner in a sermon preached before the

Opposition to these demands raised by the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy.

members of the diet and a large congregation.*

* The accusations which Birkowski brought forward on that occasion against the Protestants, give a fair specimen of the ingenuity and candour with which the Romanist clergy of Poland assailed their antagonists. Birkowski addressed his hearers, in a sermon preached before the assembled senate and nuncios in, amongst others, the following words: "We Catholics are Christians, consequently how can we approve your new religion which denies Christ, who has redeemed us with his blood! O, how great is your madness! You follow Calvin, who abuses Christ, and ascribes to the Lord ignorance and blasphemy. Your religion will soon lead you to Atheism, now, my Catholics, will you praise such a religion? It would be the same as to praise impiety." Further, speaking of the enactments which secured religious peace to the country, he says: "where do you lead your brothers, gentlemen dissidents, to sign a confederation? with whom do you engage them to conclude fraternity? with demons, with beasts, who do not live according to reason, but after the impulse of their own fury." As an illustration of the constitutional ideas of this celebrated preacher, the following words, pronounced in the same sermon, may serve: "Gentlemen dissidents, you recommend to your brothers liberty, and that no violence be offered to the sons of Poland in any of their transactions. But what liberty can you promise to others, being yourselves slaves of sin and corruption," &c.—Vide Lukaszewiz, page 200. Birkowski was born in 1564, entered the Dominican order in 1592, and died in 1636. He had a profound knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; and he edited, in Greek, the Epistles of St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (Zamosc, 1597), to which he prefixed a very learned preface. Birkowski united to great learning and eloquence an unimpeachable character. It is said that a sick man wished
to

But the imprudence which the Protestants committed on this occasion was more injurious to them than the violence of their antagonists. They hinted that, at a time when the Protestant cause was triumphant under Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, their complaints should not be slighted. This injudicious observation justly offended the nation, created a suspicion that it was intended to call in foreign aid for the regulation of the internal affairs of the country, and caused the rejection of the just demands presented by the chiefs of the anti-Romanist party.

The imprudence committed by some Protestants causes the rejection of their just demands.

There was, however, no intention of inviting foreigners to interfere in the national affairs ; but it seems that there was a strong party, composed not only of Protestants but of many Romanists, which was desirous of calling Gustavus Adolphus to the throne. Piasecki, a Roman Catholic bishop, positively says, that amongst the apprehensions

to intrust him with a large sum of money, of which, in case of that man's death, he might dispose as he would, but Birkowski refused to take the money, which, as the man died, went to his lawful heirs. Birkowski was reproached by his fellow-monks for having neglected the interests of his convent ; but he answered, that if another case of such a nature should occur, they might send some other monk in his stead. Yet all his virtues and learning could not free him from uncharitableness and disingenuity towards the opponents of his church. His good qualities were his own, his faults were those of his school !

created by the interregnum, one was strongly prevalent, that if Gustavus should enter Poland, he would meet with more friends than opponents.* This statement of a writer opposed to the Protestant party, derives additional support from the consideration that Gustavus Adolphus could not but have been popular in Poland, as well on account of his chivalrous character, so congenial to the national feeling of the Poles, as of his victories over Austria, whose influence over the deceased monarch had proved, in many cases, very injurious to the interests of the country.

Gustavus
Adolphus a
candidate for
the throne of
Poland.

Gustavus Adolphus, moreover, was able to offer great advantages to the Poles,† whilst the

* Vide Piasecki's *Chronica*, ad ann. 1632.

† It is said, that Gustavus Adolphus proposed to the Poles, in the event of their electing him king, the following terms:—the restoration of his conquests in Livonia and Prussia; a union with Moldavia and Wallachia on one side, and Silesia on the other; an alliance with Hungary and Bohemia, emancipated from the domination of Austria; and a confirmation of all the constitutional liberties of the nation. He intended to support his proposals by the sword, and the Hungarian Protestants assembled for that purpose 20,000 men on the frontiers of Poland.—Vide Renaudot *Récueil des Gazettes*, année 1632. We have no other authority for this statement, except that rare collection of periodicals which, as a contemporary publication, is entitled to some credit. It is, however, a fact, that Wallenstein stationed a large body of troops on the Polish frontier during the interregnum; a precautionary measure, which in some degree corroborates the statement under discussion. There
is

sons of the deceased monarch, possessing nothing but an empty title to the throne of Sweden, were only capable of involving the country in an unprofitable and disastrous war, as experience afterwards showed. But the interest of Gustavus was chiefly injured by the imprudence of one of his diplomatical agents, Jacob Russell, who, deceived by a false report of the death of Sigismund the Third, dispatched letters to several Poles of distinction, requesting them to support his master as a candidate to the throne of their country. Such a demand, made during the king's life-time, offended the monarch as well as the nation; the letters of Russell were publicly burnt by the executioner, and Gustavus Adolphus himself punished his indiscreet agent by imprisonment.

Yet, notwithstanding this occurrence, Gustavus Adolphus had many partisans, particularly in the province of Grand Poland, and the palatine of Sieradz, Baranowski, a Roman Catholic, formally proposed the Swedish hero as a candidate for the vacant throne. His proposition was, however, not supported, and the opponents of Gustavus Adolphus succeeded in passing a resolution

is no doubt that these promises, though great, might have been easily fulfilled, as the accession of Gustavus Adolphus to the throne of Poland would have rendered him complete master of the destinies of Europe, and have given a death-blow to Romanism, not only in Poland, but over all Europe.

by which, whoever should propose him as a candidate for the throne, was declared an enemy to the country. This precautionary measure, adopted by the influence of the Jesuits, proves the danger which the party apprehended from that quarter, such a special exclusion of a candidate being both unusual and unwarranted by any precedent or constitutional provision. Gustavus was too much occupied in Germany to make a serious effort at obtaining the crown of Poland, notwithstanding the great probability of his succeeding.

Although the twenty articles presented by Radziwill and his colleagues were rejected, religious liberty, insisted on therein, was not invalidated by the acts of the diet. Even the reservation of the clergy, "*excepto articulo confederationis dissidentium*," being deemed contrary to that liberty, was cancelled, and the words "*salvis juribus Ecclesiæ Romanæ*," alone permitted to remain.

The Greek church presented its complaints at the same diet, and the Roman Catholic clergy were also assailed by their own party. The large possessions of the church were constantly increasing, not only by donations, but also by purchases, which, by diminishing the estates of the nobles, occasioned a decrease of the armed force of the nation, so that the church was enriched, while the finances of the state were proportionally reduced.

A project was started for limiting the power of the church to acquire fresh possessions, and to inquire into its title to the ancient ones, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they answered the original intentions of the donors. The bishops, unable openly to resist such an inquiry, succeeded in putting it off to a future time, under the pretext of inability to make any concession without the consent of a synod, and the approbation of the court of Rome.

The same diet makes an attempt to limit the increase of the estates of the Roman Catholic church.

At the diet of election, assembled in November 1632, Achatius Grochowski, bishop of Lutzk, made a solemn protest against the religious liberty of the nation, confirmed by the preceding diet. This daring attack on the constitution of the country justly alarmed the anti-Romanists, and they presented a demand to the diet, that the factious bishop should be punished as a disturber of established legal order, and that his protest should be solemnly annulled. Such a proposition met with great opposition from the Romanists, who declared that the Protestants existed only by toleration, and should consider every concession to them as a grace, not as a right. The more zealous amongst them resolved on depriving their opponents of the rights they claimed, and on effecting this breach of the constitution by force of arms.* They had fifteen thou-

Achatius Grochowski, bishop of Lutzk, openly attacks the rights of the anti-Romanists, at the diet of election, 1632.

He is supported by several zealous Romanists, who seek to abolish those rights by force of arms.

* "*Armis ad officium reducendos*," says Piasecki.

sand men wherewith to support their designs, whilst the Protestants under prince Radziwill, general of Lithuania, and Leszczynski, palatine of Belsk, mustered no more than five thousand. Yet, notwithstanding such a disparity of forces, the Protestants were not dismayed, as their troops were chiefly composed of veteran soldiers, and commanded by such an experienced general as was Radziwill. They were, moreover, sure of being joined, in case of a civil war, by a great number of the followers of the Eastern church, who, irritated by religious oppression, waited only for a signal to break out in open rebellion. Such sacrilegious shedding of fraternal blood was fortunately prevented by the moderation and patriotism of several influential characters belonging to both parties, and chiefly by the known dispositions of the new monarch, who was elected without opposition.

Civil war, which was on the point of breaking out, is prevented by the exertions of several patriots, and by the tolerant dispositions of the newly elected monarch.

Vladislav the Fourth, eldest son of Sigismund the Third, was of a character entirely opposed to that of his father, and as adverse to religious persecution as Sigismund was inclined to it. Without any hesitation he confirmed all the religious and political franchises of the nation, notwithstanding all the efforts of the primate to prevent it. The hope of finding protection at the foot of the throne, whence, during the foregoing reign had proceeded oppression only, allayed the fears of the anti-Romanists.

Vladislav's mind was enlightened by considerable instruction, which, with his experience of the evils drawn down on the kingdom by the bigotry of his father, rendered the counsellors who had directed his father so distasteful to him, that he would not admit any Jesuit to his court. His naturally benevolent disposition and upright character made him loathe persecution, and every deviation from conduct strictly honourable. We must not omit mentioning the noble answer which he gave to prince Radziwill, chancellor of Lithuania, who advised him not to attach any real importance to the promises given to the anti-Romanist confessions : "What I promise with my lips I shall fulfil by my actions."

Noble and upright character of Vladislav the Fourth.

Such conduct gave rise to a suspicion that he was inclined towards Protestantism. We are unable to decide whether this suspicion had any grounds or not ; but, certainly, to be just and impartial was quite enough to suggest such a surmise to a party accustomed to the blind devotion with which Sigismund the Third promoted their interests on every occasion. Whatever may have been the internal convictions of Vladislav, certain it is that difference of religion had no influence on his mind ; and he distributed charges and offices without any regard to the persuasion of the individual. He even accepted, as Sigismund Augustus had done, the dedication of a Protestant Bible, which was addressed to

him by prince Christopher Radziwill, immediately after his election.*

* The dedication of prince Radziwill is an excellent specimen of the style in which a Polish nobleman, who felt the respect due to a monarch, but knew also his constitutional rights, addressed his sovereign; and we give, therefore, the following translation of it:—

“Sire,—As this book of the Holy Scriptures, which was published sixty-nine years ago (1563), adorned with the name of your royal majesty’s predecessor, king Sigismund Augustus, of immortal memory, was printed a second time during the happy election of your royal majesty, it seemed to be just that it should be also now presented, in this new garment, to the world under the royal name. For, as our Protestant ancestors were inspired with such a veneration for the king Sigismund Augustus of sacred memory, that they presented, as a homage of their affection to his earthly throne, that which they taught and believed concerning the Majesty of Heaven, thus also we, having elected by our free votes *cum aliis concivibus* your royal majesty for our lord and master, thought it our duty to offer a similar expression of our affection towards your royal majesty, as the successor, not only of the blood and crown, but also of the virtues of Sigismund Augustus, and particularly of his attachment to our nation and its liberties. And, as our ancestors were not ashamed to stand up with this book before the monarchs and potentates of this world; it behoves us also to declare, that not only are we not ashamed of this reprint of the Bible, but that we are ready to appear before the anointed of the Lord and render an account of our faith, not from any human doctrines and traditions, but from the Scriptures inspired by the Holy Ghost.

“The present occasion (the election of the king) is likewise a reason for taking this step; because, as every one now congratulates your royal majesty, considering silence as a *piaculum*

The tolerant spirit of the king was not shared by the Roman Catholic clergy, and the primate

in publica lætitia, it did not become us *in hoc universi orbis applausu*, not to appear before your royal majesty with such a present, a more precious one than which we are unable to find in order to express our congratulation.

“ Having then expressed the reasons wherefore it was becoming to offer your royal majesty this edition, I most humbly pray that it may please your royal majesty graciously to accept it. For if king Augustus had no reason to regret having given access to Protestants bearing such a present, although he was not bound to them by any oath, so much the less will your royal majesty, who are united with us by a sacred oath as by a nuptial ring, have, with the blessing of the Lord, reason to regret having accepted this sincere homage of ours.

“ And, as my ancestor Radziwill, in his dedication of the Bible to king Sigismund Augustus, took God for witness, that he could not give any stronger expression of his respect to his master, and sincerely wished, on the same occasion, to the king every kind of eternal and temporal happiness; thus, I, having received this Bible from our pious teachers, who have carefully superintended this edition, take God, the searcher of hearts, for witness, that it is not for vain ceremony's sake, but as a sign of my true allegiance and devotion, that I offer this present, which I consider as the most precious thing in the world, and which I value above my fortune, yea, and my life! doing it in my own name, as well as in that of all the Protestant congregations of Poland and Lithuania, with whom we shall all ever pray for a long and happy reign to your majesty.

“ Although I do not admit that any one having a true Polish heart, would be so forgetful of the country's laws and the times in which we live, as to venture on calumniating to your royal majesty this our sincere present, as well as our Protestant religion, because there are neither controversies nor allu-

prohibited the circulation of this edition of the Scriptures. This prohibition was approved of by

sions in it which can give offence to any one. Yet, if some foreigner who should act in such a manner, let your royal majesty remember, that when the King of kings shall call before his throne all the monarchs of the world, they will have to render an account of their worship to God, and of the government of the people intrusted to them, according to this statute, and not according to any other ; and that nobody will be sheltered there by the advice of others, but will be obliged to answer for himself. Let your royal majesty finally remember, that God, by his irresistible judgment, *tot rerum eventibus*, is everywhere opposed to those who excite the royal anger against the Protestant religion, and are enemies of the public peace ; and proves that though power may be acquired over the persons, books, and churches of Dissenters, no other than Divine authority can rule the thoughts and consciences of men.

“Therefore, as the Roman emperor Vespasian was told by his favourite, Apollonius, of a musician, who, although himself a great master of his art, sent his pupils to unskilful musicians, that they might learn not how to play, but how not to play ; which story Apollonius applied to the emperor himself, that he might learn by the example of bad sovereigns how not to reign : so would I have made use of that example, in order to turn the eyes of your royal majesty to those who, attempting to arrest the circulation of the gospel by force and violence, not only *nihil profecerunt*, but even have injured themselves.

“I say that I would have made use of that example, if I did not trust that your royal majesty, taking for a rule of conduct not the unfortunate example of foreigners, but your own virtues and the praiseworthy dealings of your ancestors, would moderate *justo et tranquillo imperio religionis dissidia* ; and if I had not known that God had granted to your royal majesty to find in our country such a senate, and such an equestrian order, as

non

the synod of Warsaw (1634) which declared that the doctrine which allowed every Christian to search the Scriptures, was introduced by Satan himself. The resolution of the synod was confirmed by a brief of Pope Urban the Eighth.

The primate and the synod of Warsaw issue a prohibition against the Protestant Bible in particular, and the reading of the Scriptures in general.

Vladislav the Fourth wished (1638) to contract a matrimonial alliance with the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederic, palatine of the Rhine, the unfortunate king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, princess of England, notwithstanding the strong attachment of that princess to the reformed religion. The idea of placing on the throne of Poland a Protestant queen raised a general outcry among the bishops and all the zealous Romanists, although the constitution of the country did not hinder the monarch from entering such an alli-

Vladislav's project to marry the daughter of the palatine of the Rhine is defeated by the opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy.

non alienis naufragiis, but from their own reflection and an ardent love of country, are watchful lest our commonwealth be driven *prætestu zeli* on some dangerous reefs.

"Now, being in hopes that your royal majesty, my gracious sovereign, will not despise this sincere present of all the Protestants, which derives its value from the name of God, the One in the Holy Trinity, I conclude this my congratulation. And as the emperors of Rome at their accession to the throne *acclamabantur* : '*sis felicior Augusto, melior Trajano* ;' so may God grant that your royal majesty may surpass, by the justice of your rule, the great Casimir ; by the duration of your reign, your ancestor Jagellon ; by the love of your subjects, Sigismund the First ; by the extension of national liberty, Sigismund Augustus ; and by triumphs over your enemies, your father Sigismund the Third. Datum, Orla 1632."

ance. Piasecki, bishop of Przemyśl, was the only prelate who defended the rights of the king on that occasion : and permission to send an embassy to London and to the Hague, in order to negotiate the matter with Charles the First, the uncle, and with the mother of the intended bride, was given. The difficulties, however, which were raised, in consequence of the religion of the princess, compelled Vladislav to give up all idea of the match.

The impartiality of the monarch, and his sincere wish to rule his subjects with even-handed justice, without regard to their religious persuasion, were inadequate to arrest Romanist persecution. The influence of the Jesuits had diffused too widely a spirit of bigotry, and intolerance, particularly amongst the numerous class of the small nobles educated at their schools. The Protestants of Cracow, which had been the scene of repeated violence against them, began to enjoy a peace unknown during the preceding reign ; and they could for some time, particularly during the diet of the coronation (1633), perform divine service, and bury their dead without molestation. The hope, however, which they conceived of enjoying permanent tranquillity soon proved delusive, and Ascension-day, which was generally chosen for making attacks on the anti-Romanists, was again desecrated by similar outrages. As there was

reason to apprehend a riot, the king ordered precautionary measures to be taken, and an armed force of burghers was organised for the prevention of disturbances. Notwithstanding this measure, the pupils of St. Mary's college seized a Protestant citizen called Mayerhofer, dragged him about the streets, and after treating him with great cruelty, and offering him every kind of indignity, left him half dead before the church of St. Michael. The monks of St. Francis, to whom that church belonged, took up the unfortunate man with the charity of the good Samaritan, and after paying him every attention which his case required, restored him to his friends. The armed burghers did not interfere, and this tacit approbation of the infamous conduct of the students encouraged them to a new riot. The academical authority had confined them in their respective colleges or lodging-houses, but the pupils either broke out by force, or secretly left their places of confinement: they then attacked the house of a Protestant citizen, and attempted to force the entrance; a detachment of troops dispersed them with a few shots, by which several of them were wounded. When, however, one of the rioters died of the wounds he had received, the Protestants being accused of his murder, preferred to arrange the matter by the payment of a sum of money, being well aware that their innocence would not be of much avail before a

Violence against Protestants committed at Cracow in spite of the royal authority.

Christian behaviour of the Franciscan monks on that occasion.

bigoted tribunal, elected under the influence of the clergy. The impunity with which those enormities were perpetrated, served as an inducement to the commission of new ones. A Protestant lady having died, her friends apprehending an attack from the students, requested princess Radziwill, who belonged to the same communion, to lend her carriage to take the body secretly to a place, where its burial might be performed in safety from Romanist profanation. This request was readily granted: but the students having been informed of it, stopped the carriage, took the body out of the coffin, and threw it into the mud. This insult, however, did not satisfy the rage of these wretches; they put back the body into the coffin, bound it with a chain, and carried it about the streets, pelting it with stones, amidst savage yells, and indecent songs. This scandalous scene created different impressions upon the spectators; there were some who approved of it; but many were so shocked by the scandal that they shed tears. The rector of the university, Naymanowicz, is said to have witnessed this shameful action without interfering; perhaps, because he felt that his authority would be disregarded by the fanatical rabble which disgraced the learned institution over which he presided. The students, after having inflicted every kind of insult on the body, threw it into the river; but the friends of the deceased recovered it, and com-

Indignities
committed on
the body of a
Protestant
lady by the
students of the
University of
Cracow.

mitted it to the grave. This enormity excited strong indignation amongst many persons, and the king ordered that justice should be done on the disturbers of the public peace. Three of the principal leaders of the riot were discovered : but the rector of the university succeeded in screening them from punishment, except one, called Valentin Iskra, who was notorious for violence, and was convicted of having insulted the dead body, and of being the author of all the riots. He was condemned to death, and the king confirmed the sentence : but the felon found many influential patrons, and the Protestants being threatened with vengeance in case he should be beheaded, did not press the execution of the sentence. Iskra was pardoned, and six professors gave, in the name of the university, security for his good behaviour. In 1639 a quarrel began in a public-house, the result of which was that two Protestants were murdered, and several wounded. On this occasion the mob prevented the dead bodies from being buried at Cracow, despite a detachment of the garrison which was sent to protect the funeral procession. They were buried at the estate of Nicolas Ossolinski, castellan of Parnaw, a Protestant nobleman. It would be tedious to enumerate all the outrages and vexations to which the Protestants were continually exposed from the students of the university, and we must confine ourselves to the

Pillage of the house of a Protestant by the students of the University of Cracow, disguised as pilgrims.

description of the most flagitious ones. On August 15th, 1641, the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, fifteen pilgrims to the mount of Calvary,* after having performed their devotions, resolved to complete the pious occupation of the day by pillaging heretics. They invaded the house of a Protestant named Kolay, who lived at Chalowice, a neighbouring village, bound all the servants, and endeavoured to compel Kolay and his wife, by threats of murdering them, to give up their money. These felons stole every thing which they could lay hold of, avowing that they did it in order to avenge the true religion on heretics. Some accident, however, which induced them to retreat hastily for fear of being surprised, prevented them from putting their threats into execution. Several things which, in their precipitation, they forgot to carry away, proved that those pilgrims were students of the university. They were discovered and prosecuted before the criminal

* It is situated in the vicinity of Cracow. In Roman Catholic countries there are established in the neighbourhood of several towns places of worship, called "Mount Calvary." They consist of many little chapels, bearing the names of the most remarkable places in the history of our Saviour's passion, and they serve as stations, where the processions which take place on the several festivals stop, for the purpose of reading passages of the gospel relating to the places which they are intended to represent.

court of Cracow. The students did not deny their actions, but justified them ; maintaining that it was a duty to destroy Protestants : they said that the clergy permitted and approved of such proceedings, and that without similar persecutions, heresy would become victorious, and the Roman Catholics be defeated. They even cited Scripture to prove that the slaughter of heretics was commanded by God, and quoted the ancient laws of the country against seceders from the Roman Catholic church. They put forward in their defence the excesses committed by the students at Poznan, Lublin, and Vilna, which remained unpunished. Their arguments, however, proved unavailing ; and perhaps this open and frank avowal of their principles was too premature for the designs of the leaders of the Romanist re-action ; they were condemned to death, and, notwithstanding the clamours of many zealous Romanists, who considered them martyrs to the good cause, were executed. This just severity gave peace to the Protestants for several years, during which they were only subjected to trifling annoyance. In 1647, however, many signs announced a projected renewal of the riots against the Protestants ; and as the festival of the Ascension was usually the day chosen for such acts, the principal of them left the town before that day. It passed, however, without any commotion ; but the pupils of the university

Remarkable defence made by the perpetrators of that violence ; they are condemned and executed.

This severity gives peace to the Protestants of Cracow for several years, but it is again disturbed in 1647.

had only postponed the execution of their design. On the 5th of June some hundreds of them attacked with stones and every kind of missiles the house of a Protestant citizen called Thor, and attempted to force the doors. A shot fired from the house, which stretched on the ground one of the assailants, increased their rage, and the inmates of the house would certainly have been massacred had not a detachment of cavalry, sent by Lubomirski, palatine of Cracow, fortunately arrived in time. The students retired to the Franciscan church-yard, and, ensconced behind the wall which enclosed it, began to pelt the cavalry with stones. The troops fired at them, and charged them with their swords, by which several students were killed and wounded. They rallied in another place, but were again dispersed by the troops. The students tried to carry several houses by assault, and succeeded in pillaging two of them, situated in the suburb of Kasimir; the authorities, however, restored order. The Franciscan monks complained loudly that their church was profaned by the shots fired at the rioters, who took refuge there; and the Protestants, to avoid fresh vexation, silenced them with a sum of money. The students, frustrated in their attempts at Cracow, prepared an expedition against the Protestant church at Wielkanoc, a village distant about ten English miles, which they meditated attacking during

the performance of divine service. Had this nefarious project succeeded, there can be no doubt that the congregation would have been massacred by these wretches, who thirsted to avenge the death of their comrades and their own disappointment. Fortunately the project became known, and the Protestant nobles assembled in a sufficient number to prevent the execution of it. The university of Cracow, instead of repressing the excesses of its pupils, tried to avenge on the Protestants the deaths of those who had been killed or wounded by the troops sent to quell the riots. It even had the impudence to prosecute the Protestants for the mishaps which the pupils had brought upon themselves by disturbing public peace. The Protestants of Cracow, as inhabitants of the metropolis, belonged to the immediate jurisdiction of the king himself; and they appealed to his judgment, protesting against the competence of the criminal court of Cracow, as well as of the supreme tribunal of Poland, before which they were cited. The university, knowing the impartiality of the monarch, and that they would not get any countenance from the chancellor, Lubomirski, palatine of Cracow, withdrew its accusation. The university tried, however, by every means to molest the Protestants; and Lubomirski, induced by its constant complaints, ordered the Protestants to effect a reconciliation with that learned body.

The Protestants, although entirely innocent, yet knew by experience how dangerous the enmity of the academy was, and gave to its rector the sum of 2,500 Polish florins,* who accepted it by an official act as a compensation for an imaginary wrong.

In addition to personal violence, the Protestants had to contend with attacks on their property, for which, through the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy, they could get no redress. The dying were subjected to every kind of vexation, for the purpose of extorting from them a word or a sign that might warrant the belief that they had abjured their creed before their death. The nearest relations, parents, and even children, undertook the task of disturbing the last moments of their dying relatives, a proceeding more calculated to unsettle their minds, and fill them with doubts, than to prepare them to meet that awful moment as becomes a true Christian. In order to prevent such abuses, Krolik, a burgher of Cracow, erected a house near the church of Wielkanoc, where sick Protestants could retire, in order to die in peace, and freedom from Romanist vexations. We have seen that, under the preceding reign, the bishop of Cracow recommended the municipality of

* The value of a Polish florin at that time was about eighteen-pence English money.

that town to exclude the Protestants from the privileges of the burghers; the municipality readily obeyed the episcopal summons; but Vladislav abolished that exclusion in 1635. In 1637, when many of the principal families of Cracow had relapsed into Romanism, the court of officials of the local bishop induced the trades' companies to refuse Protestants admission to the mastership,* whatever might be their qualifications for it; and Strachan, a burgher belonging to one of the principal families of the city, was excluded on account of his religion. Strachan's complaint was rejected by the town council, and his appeal to the supreme tribunal of towns produced no effect. After that time, the Protestants of Cracow were excluded from the privileges of the trades' companies, which produced the worst effect on the fortunes of the city.

The persuasions of the clergy induce the municipality of Cracow to deprive the Protestants of the privileges of the burghers.

The persecution of the Protestants became more grievous in the same ratio as the Jesuits gained ground; that is, its violence increased every year, for the number of those who were educated in the schools of the Jesuits, where they imbibed a violent hatred against every thing anti-Roman, became annually larger. The royal power, too much limited by an undue extension

* It is well known that the trades comprehended three classes, *viz.* apprentice, companion, and master, who alone could be at the head of an establishment.

Persecution of
Protestants at
Lublin.

of the franchise of the nobles, was unable to put a stop to this spirit of intolerance, which was spreading like an infectious disease throughout the nation, although it was sure to find support whenever it acted according to that spirit. Thus, the liberal institutions of the country, intended to protect the citizens from oppression, were rendered subservient to the persecution of them. Church after church was wrested from the Protestants, and given to the Romanists; and all complaints against this injustice were either rejected by the tribunals, or eluded under different pretences. The Protestant ministers dared not appear in the streets of a town where there was a Jesuits' college, for fear of being insulted in every way by the students of those colleges, who were imitated by the pupils of other Roman Catholic schools. At Lublin a mob attacked a Protestant funeral, and murdered a member of the Scotch congregation. The Protestants, in defending themselves, killed two of the aggressors, who of course were proclaimed martyrs. The mob, irritated by this occurrence, attacked the house of Makowski, the elder of the Protestant congregation, and plundered it. The king sent a commission, which acknowledged the innocence of the Protestants, who had acted in self-defence; but Vladislav, to save Makowski from persecution, was obliged to give him a safe conduct, or a royal letter, by which he was sheltered from

any judicial prosecution. The royal prerogative, however, when employed in a just cause, was not a sufficient defence from Romanists' vengeance. The supreme tribunal cited Makowski, and condemned him to death for a pretended crime. Makowski was several times led to the place of execution, and, supporting his misfortune with the resignation of a Christian, he always marched on, singing the thirty-fifth psalm. The accomplishment of the judicial murder was, however, prevented by the interference of several moderate Roman Catholic nobles, and Makowski was finally released by paying a considerable sum to the Bernardine monks of Lublin, who prosecuted him.* After that time the Protestants could not perform at Lublin even domestic service.

The Protestant church of Vilna, which was destroyed in 1611,† together with the school attached to it, had afterwards been rebuilt. In 1639 the students of the Jesuits' college invaded the premises of the church, committed there several excesses, and having beaten in the most barbarous manner Hartlib, the rector of the school, threw him into the river. Hartlib was,

At Vilna,
where the re-
formed church
and school are
abolished.

* According to the ancient laws of Poland, the prosecuting party could stop its proceedings in a criminal cause, even then when sentence had been passed on the defendant.

† Vide page 185.

however, saved, and the riot appeased, but not before the ruffians had pillaged the houses of several rich Protestants. Soon afterwards, a trifling accident gave the Romanists a pretence for giving the final blow to the Protestant school at Vilna. Two boys, pupils of the school, were one day shooting birds with arrows. By accident one of their arrows hit a little statue of the archangel Michael, placed on the top of the church, belonging to the Franciscan Nunnery. A great outcry was raised by the Romanists against the sacrilegious insult offered to the Roman Catholic religion, but as an inquiry proved that it was unintentional on the part of the boys, they were neither prosecuted in a court of justice, nor punished by their superiors. This accident offered, however, too good an opportunity for persecution to be neglected, and the spirit of bigotry had sufficiently offuscated the majority of the nation, to render easy the enactment of a legal measure of persecution, which the tolerant Vladislav had not sufficient power to prevent: the case was consequently represented to the diet of 1640, which ordered the abolition of the reformed church and school at Vilna, and prohibited even the performance of domestic service within its walls. The Protestants were therefore obliged to transfer their place of worship to a suburb. Two ministers of the town, Labowski and John Turski, were obliged to leave the

country. In 1641, the minister of Vilna, Chelchowski, ventured into the town, in order to administer religious consolation to a sick lady of his congregation. He was caught by the students of the Jesuits' college, who beat him mercilessly, and afterwards announced to the rector of their college that Protestant ministers frequented the town in spite of the prohibition: the rector forbade them to beat the ministers, but authorized them to tear off their garments: the pupils took advantage of this permission, and having again caught the same Chelchowski, and with him his fellow-minister, Gerdank, not only tore off their garments, but treated them so ill, that they were left almost senseless. A complaint was made in the court of justice; and at a meeting of the nobles of the district of Vilna, chiefly composed of Romanists, strong disapprobation of such excesses was expressed, and it was determined to bring the matter before the next diet. The king ordered the palatine and the bishop of Vilna, as well as the Jesuits, to look to the punishment of the perpetrators of these violences: the bishop, in order to allay the excitement occasioned by their excesses, promised to punish the students: but he took no step to that end, and when he was pressed to fulfil his promise, he eluded it by a sudden departure from Vilna. He betrayed the insincerity of his promise by the following words: "How can I

Remarkable avowal of a Roman Catholic bishop when required to punish the excesses committed by the students of his schools against the Protestants.

punish the students, when it is my vocation to extirpate heresy by every means: the pope has sent me solemn thanks, that heresy was ejected from Vilna during my rule."

The bishop of Vilna accuses, before the diet of 1646, prince Radziwill of sacrilege, but his accusation is rejected.

The Protestants, persecuted in all the towns of Poland, enjoyed at least tranquillity on the estates of the nobles belonging to their communion, as their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens would have repelled every attempt against the privileges of their order. The clergy tried, however, to make an attack on that privileged class, and chose the first object of it, a most influential Protestant nobleman, being well aware that if their attempt succeeded in a high quarter, they would have no difficulty in oppressing the minor nobles. Abraham Woyna, bishop of Vilna, accused in 1646, prince Radziwill, field-general of Lithuania, of having committed sacrilege by the overthrow of some crosses on one of his estates. The bishop exhorted the diet to avenge an insult offered to God, and demanded that a sentence should be given on his sole evidence. Such a demand produced a commotion in the diet, and many voices were raised against a proposition not to allow an accused party to defend himself. Chrzostowski, nuncio of Cracow, threatened to dissolve the diet by his veto if such a proposition should be carried. But there were some also who took the part of the bishops. Oborski, nuncio of Mazoria, a

province which was always the stronghold of Romanism in Poland,* expressed the opinion of his constituency, that the Roman Catholic religion ought to be defended by the sword. Radziwill called the bishop an agitator, an expression which the partisans of the bishop pronounced, amidst a great uproar, to be blasphemous, and equivalent to a declaration of civil war. The most violent abuse and menaces were uttered against the Protestants, and bloodshed was with great difficulty prevented. This dispute lasted during five days: the accusation of the bishop was rejected, but the nature of it proves on what slight grounds the Romanists sought to persecute the Protestants, whilst the greatest enormities committed by them against their antagonists escaped punishment.

We have related, in the fifth chapter, the effects produced on the Eastern church of Poland by the union with Rome, to which a part of it submitted at the synod of Brest, in Lithuania (1596). The rights and liberties insured to the followers of that church, and perfect equality with those who had accepted the union of Brest, were solemnly confirmed to them by the diets of 1633, 1635, and 1647. But these salutary enactments were insufficient to counterbalance the rapidly increasing influence of the party, which (to promote the

Affairs of the
Eastern
church of
Poland.

* Vide page 126, vol. i.

interests of Rome) was hurrying the country into an abyss of misfortune. The dangers to which such a policy was leading were so evident that the most fanatical blindness could alone disregard them. The Eastern church had recruited its forces by the synod of Kiow,* and it was governed, during the reign of Vladislav the Fourth, by a very remarkable man, the archbishop of Kiow, Peter Mohila,† a prelate of birth, great learning,

Peter Mohila, metropolitan of that church, establishes an academy for ecclesiastics at Kiow.

* Vide page 191.

† Peter Mohila, born 1597, was the son of the reigning prince of Moldavia, who was related to several great families of Poland. He was educated at the university of Paris, and afterwards entered the military service of Poland, and served with distinction during the war against the Turks in 1621. In 1625, he entered the monastic life, in a convent of Kiow, of which he was afterwards created archimandorite, or superior. In 1633, he was elected archbishop of Kiow, and metropolitan of the Eastern church of Poland, and was confirmed in his dignity by the king. He took especial care to improve the schools of his confession which existed at Kiow, and established there an academy for ecclesiastics, the privileges of which were confirmed by the king and the diet. It was formed on the Roman Catholic model, and contained a great number of pupils, who were taught the classical languages—philosophy and divinity. He published many works of a religious nature, but his most remarkable production is the exposition of the orthodox faith, which he sent in Latin and Greek to the synod of Yassi, in Moldavia (1643), that it might be submitted to the delegates of the patriarch of Constantinople. The delegates approved of it, and sent it for the final confirmation to the patriarchs of the East. Meanwhile Mohila published an abridgment of it in Polish and Polish Russian, at Kiow, in 1645. He died in 1646, and his work, after

and eminent talents. The academy for ecclesiastics which he established at Kioff became a new bulwark of his church against Rome, by spreading information amongst its clergy, who were, in that respect, much inferior to their opponents, who had the advantage of a better education in the Romanist seminaries. But what rendered this church truly formidable was the zeal with which the Cossacks of the Ukraine were attached to its tenets. They comprised a large armed body, inured to the dangers and fatigue of a military life by constant warfare with the Turks and Tartars. The Cossacks, who had received their military organisation from King Stephen Battory, served Poland loyally, not only against the Turks and Tartars, but also against

Persecution of the followers of the Eastern church, and its fatal consequences.

after having travelled over the East, was published in Greek by the dragoman of the Porte, Peter Panagiotes (1662), at Amsterdam, in order to be distributed, gratis, amongst the Greeks of the Ottoman empire. It was reprinted also in Holland, in 1672, by order of the patriarch of Constantinople, and the learned Swede, Laurentius Norman, professor at Upsala, and afterwards bishop of Gothenburg, translated it into Latin, and published it with the Greek text at Leipsic (1695). Leonard Frisch translated it into German, and published it at Berlin (1727); and Hoffmann sent forth an edition at Breslaw (1751), containing the Greek text, the Latin translation of Normann, and the German one of Frisch, to which he prefixed a history of that work.—Vide Dictionary of the Authors of the Greek Church in Poland and Russia, by Eugene, Metropolitan of Kiow, vol. ii. page 156, St. Petersburg.

the Moscovites, who professed the same creed with themselves : it was, therefore, as impolitic and dangerous as it was unjust to irritate the followers of the Eastern church by a religious persecution, which might easily convert them from loyal subjects into deadly enemies ; and the more moderate and better part of the nation viewed with dismay the attempts of the Roman Catholic clergy and their tools to extend by compulsory means their union with Rome. Laws were constantly enacted to prevent that mischievous tendency ; but these laws were powerless against the religious fanaticism with which the Jesuits' schools had infected the nation. All the nobles who had submitted to the union, compelled their subjects to do the same ; an abuse which the diet even had no power to restrain, as the nobles enjoyed an unlimited right in that respect, owing to a disgraceful provision of the confederation of 1573.* Thus an enactment which was intended to protect religious liberty, was rendered subservient to oppression. Such forced conversions could not be effected without having recourse to the most revolting excesses, and the Greek clergy, who opposed the union, became the principal objects of violence. The influence of the Roman Catholic clergy prevailed on the diet of 1641 to ^{adv}adjudge the extensive

* Vide page 23.

diocese of Przemyśl to the united church, and this sentence was carried into execution, with all the violence unavoidable on such an occasion. When the last church of Lublin was forcibly taken from the Greeks, Litynski, a noble of their confession and deputy to the tribunal of Poland, in complaining of that act of violence, made use of the following remarkable words: "Disregarding ancient privileges, the temple was taken by the most flagitious violence, and a great insult was offered to the Greek church. / God, who surely punishes every wickedness, will raise a nation which will take for one a hundred churches." These words were the sincere expression of the general feelings of the followers of the Eastern church. Litynski was prevented by the zealous Romanists from discharging his functions, although he was legally elected, and his life even was in danger. His prediction was fatally accomplished by the revolt of the Cossacks, which, after some partial and unsuccessful attempts, broke out in a most formidable manner a short time before the death of Vladislav. Although it belongs to the political history of our country, we shall be obliged to give a short account of it under the subsequent reign.

A remarkable circumstance of King Vladislav's reign was the abolition of the Socinian school at Rakow, which took place in consequence of a decree of the diet of 1638. But as we shall give

a detailed account of that celebrated sect in the following chapters, we refer our readers there for an account of this event. We must also not omit mentioning that, during Vladislav's reign, many Protestants fled from Silesia to Poland, where they established some new towns and increased the population of many old ones. The same monarch exerted himself to obtain from the emperor, Ferdinand the Third, toleration for the persecuted Protestants of Silesia.

We shall devote the next chapter to a relation of the attempt which the well-meaning Vladislav made in order to re-unite the Protestants with Rome, and which is known under the appellation of the Colloquium Charitativum of Thorn.

CHAPTER XI.

COLLOQUIUM CHARITATIVUM OF THORN, 1645.

THE conciliatory disposition of Vladislav the Fourth, and his anxiety to maintain peace between the contending religious parties, whose animosity increased with the persecution, which, notwithstanding his good intentions, he had not power to check, induced him to seek the means of bringing about a union of all religious persuasions then existing in Poland. He was strongly supported in his views by George Ossolinski,* chancellor of Poland, a statesman of justly high reputation. They were confirmed in their Utopian scheme by an adventurer named Bartholomew Nigrinus, who was born of Socinian parents, and having been successively a Lutheran and a mi-

The project of uniting the different religious persuasions which prevailed in Poland, by means

* George Ossolinski is particularly celebrated for his foreign embassies. His mission to Rome, in 1634, was conducted with a magnificence which was the theme of general admiration amongst the Italians, who published a work, with engravings, on that subject. Ossolinski was also ambassador to England in 1620, and his letters contain a curious description of the character of James the First.

of friendly
meetings of
their respective
divines, sug-
gested to the
king by Nigri-
nus.

The king and
the primate
adopt that pro-
ject, and fix
Thorn for the
place of meet-
ing.

nister of the Helvetian confession at Dantzic, finally became a Roman Catholic. This person having obtained access to the monarch, represented to him that it was an easy thing to unite all Christian confessions. The king supposed that an individual, who had several times changed his religious persuasion, must be well acquainted with all differences and causes of controversy, and consequently put faith in the feasibility of the project. Nigrinus further maintained, before the king and several bishops, that it would be possible to attain his object by means of a friendly discussion between some chosen doctors of the different confessions. The king adopted the advice of Nigrinus, and resolved to call to a friendly meeting, (*Colloquium Charitativum*,) a number of divines of all the Christian confessions. He communicated his idea to the primate Mathias Lubinski and Pope Innocent the Tenth, and ordered, as a preparatory step for the intended meeting, the convocation of a Roman Catholic synod, which was held at Warsaw towards the end of the year 1643. The synod eagerly received the proposition of the king, and resolved that such a meeting, (*Colloquium Charitativum*,) should take place at Thorn on the 10th October 1644, and it chose for its delegates twelve Roman Catholic divines, under the direction of Tyszkiewicz, bishop of Samogitia. The king and

the synod addressed printed proclamations* to the Protestants, inviting them to send their divines thither.

As soon as the proclamations had appeared, many of the Roman Catholics, as well as Protestant writers, expressed their doubts† of the success of a scheme which, in spite of many attempts made to carry it into execution, still remains amongst the *pia desideria* of a benevolent mind.

Public opinion divided on the practicability of that scheme.

* These proclamations were not couched in a style likely to conciliate the Protestants, for they expressed the hopes of the Catholics that the Protestants would abandon their heretical errors, &c. The Protestants, on their side, were not more moderate in their writings published on that occasion: thus, for instance, the Bohemian brethren, in a pamphlet entitled "The Common Prayer of all the Protestant Churches in Grand Poland on the occasion of the *Colloquium* of Thorn," say, amongst other things: "O Lord! the enemies have invaded thy heritage, and made an abomination of thy holy church. They have converted into fanes of idolatry the houses of our sanctification and ornament, where our fathers have praised thee. They have expelled thy servants from their places, and the cities of thy holiness they have converted into a desert," &c. Vide Łukaszewicz, p. 208.

† For instance, on the side of the Roman Catholics there appeared a pamphlet, entitled, "*Catholicorum quorundam in Polonia de reconciliatione in Religione dissidentium impossibilitate, judicium.*" On the side of the Protestants: "*De colloquio charitativo, ad quod Evangelici Thorunium invitantur, Theologi ejusdem evangelici judicium ac concilium, patribus in Christo qui sunt in Polonia ac vicina Germania submissum Amsterodami,*" &c. The Jesuits were very sanguine about the conversion of the Protestants by means of the Colloquium, which is proved by

The proclamation of the primate, addressed to the rector and professors of the school of Leszno, as the chief place of the united Helveto-Bohemian confession of Grand Poland, was delivered on the 31st March 1644. I. Vechner, who was at that time rector of this school, communicated the proclamation to all the seniors of his confession, who convoked a synod at Leszno on the 15th April, and replied to the primate that they were disposed to a union and concord provided it did not injure their doctrine, and that they would send their divines to the intended discussions. After which the Helveto-Bohemian churches of Grand Poland, wishing to consult with the reformed congregations of Little Poland and Lithuania about the manner of acting at the Colloquium of Thorn, delegated a gentleman named Mathias Gloskowski to the synod of Chmielnik, convoked by the reformed churches of Little Poland, for the 15th July. Delegates of several reformed churches of Lithuania were present at that provincial synod, who resolved on convoking a general one for the 24th August, at Orla, a town in the province of Podlachia, on the borders of

Preparatory
synods held by
the Protestants.

by their pamphlet, entitled, "*Jesuitica informatio de negotio reductionis hæreticorum ad Ecclesiam Romanam per Regnum Poloniae*," &c. There were a great number of pamphlets published on that occasion, advocating or combating the project; but it would be uninteresting to enumerate them all,

Poland and Lithuania. This resolution was communicated by letters to the elector of Brandenburg, the duke of Courland, to several princes of Silesia, to the towns of Prussia, and to the principal Protestant universities of Germany; and at the same time they were requested to give their opinion and advice concerning the course of action to be followed at Thorn. At the appointed time a great number of persons belonging to the reformed religion arrived at Orla from all parts of Poland. After the opening of the synod, which was presided over by prince Ianus Radziwill, several letters and opinions were read. They were from the electors of Brandenburg, the duke of Courland, the university of Leyden, and from many learned Protestant divines, such as Andreas Rivet, Henry Altingius, John Bergius, Wolfgang, Crellius, Comenius, &c. as well as from the towns of Dantzic, Elbing, and Thorn.

When these had been discussed, the synod deliberated concerning the proceedings to be adopted at Thorn, and all thought that the time was too short for making a proper preparation: it was, therefore, resolved to petition the king for delay. A deputation was, in consequence, sent to the king, who willingly granted its request. The Bohemian Brethren of Grand Poland were also directed to come to an understanding with the Lutherans, in order that the union of

Socinians excluded from taking part in the Colloquium.

Sandomir might be strictly adhered to. Although the king granted the delay requested by the synod of Orla, the royal commissioner, John Koss, castellan of Elbing, as well as the bishop Tyszkiewicz, with the Roman Catholic divines, arrived at Thorn on the appointed day, the 10th October 1644; but, having found there only three ministers and four nobles of the Protestant confession, they entered a protest in the public archives against the non-appearance of the delegates from the opposite party. Several Socinians, who had arrived at Thorn in order to take a part in the Colloquium, were not even admitted to a conference by the bishop. The king published, on the 1st December of the same year, a second proclamation, appointing the 28th August 1645.

This proclamation produced a great stir amongst the Protestants of all Poland, who opened a correspondence with the most learned divines of their confession abroad, and convoked several synods. One of the most important was held at Leszno, by the Helveto-Bohemian churches of Grand Poland on the 23d April 1645. It had a two-fold object: 1st. To choose delegates for the Colloquium, and to supply them with the necessary funds; this was arranged without any difficulty. 2dly. To come to an understanding with the Lutherans, who had convoked a synod in the same place, and thereby "to form one army against the enemy." This,

however, proved not to be an easy task ; a deputation of the Helveto-Bohemian synod repaired, on the 25th April, to the Lutheran assembly, and delivered a written proposal, that they should act, if not in common with them, at least against a common enemy ; and that they (the Lutherans) should, for that purpose, send their divines to Thorn a fortnight before the time appointed, in order to deliberate with other Protestant divines about the manner of proceeding on that occasion ; finally, that the Lutherans should, for the sake of the good of the church, relinquish the dispute about the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ, and predestination, as very injurious to the cause of the Polish Protestants. The Lutherans sent, in a few days, a written answer to that proposal, of the following tenour : that they were disposed to concord, and that it was for this object that they had convoked their synod ; that they would submit the proposals which had been made to them to the opinion of the divines of Wittemberg, and should that opinion be favourable, immediately convoke a synod at Wschowa (Fraustat), and there conclude a perpetual and complete union with the Helveto-Bohemian churches. Moreover, that whatever might be the answer from Wittemberg, they would act at the Colloquium of Thorn in unison with the Helveto-Bohemians against the common enemy.

The Helveto-Bohemian synod of Leszno try to induce the Lutherans of Poland to act in common with them at the Colloquium;

but their efforts
are frustrated
by the opposi-
tion of the Uni-
versity of Wit-
temberg.

The nobles of the Lutheran confession wrote a letter to the dean and the professors of the theological faculty of Wittemberg, stating, that the number of Polish nobles following the Augustan confession being too small to oppose at the diets, and the dietines (elections), the overwhelming majority of the Roman Catholics, they wished to unite with the Helveto-Bohemian confession, which counted many followers in the senate and amongst the equestrian order; they desired, moreover, that the faculty would allow them to act conjointly with the other Protestant confessions in defending those articles of faith which they all held in common; and, finally, they requested the faculty to send one of their own divines to the *Colloquium* at Thorn. The theological faculty of Wittemberg answered the Lutheran nobles of Poland, that the Helveto-Bohemian confession differed in many points from that of Augsburg, and consequently a union of these two confessions could not by any means take place; that confessions which differed in the principal articles of faith, thereby differed by the same in others; and, consequently, that the Lutherans ought in no case act in common with the Bohemo-Helveticans at the Colloquium of Thorn. Finally, the faculty informed the nobles that it would send to Thorn John Hülsemann, a learned divine of the university of Wittemberg.

The various preparations which the Protestants

made for the *Colloquium*, seem to have been intended to show the monarch and their Romanist countrymen that they were ready to seize every opportunity for conciliating the religious differences which divided the nation, and to appear with credit on so solemn an occasion. But we can scarcely admit that any sober-minded Protestant could ever believe in the possibility of a favourable issue to the *Colloquium*; as the Roman Catholic church, considering itself as finally settled by the Council of Trent, could not, in order to come nearer to the Protestants, possibly submit to any reforms: there could not, therefore, be a union with the church of Rome, or any thing but submission to its supremacy. The utmost to be expected was some concession to the Protestants in point of discipline and ritual, as, for instance, the communion in two kinds, and perhaps even the marriage of the priests. But it was an idle dream to suppose for a moment that the principal articles of the faith, such as the meaning of the Eucharist, salvation through faith, &c., should be subjected to the slightest deviation from the doctrines held by the church of Rome. Nay, any concessions touching communion in two kinds, and the marriage of priests, even if made, would be made to Protestants as the price of their return to obedience to the pope, but never be extended to the whole Roman Catholic church. In fact, there cannot be a union of religious confessions

Impossibility of
effecting the
intended union.

when they differ in the principal articles of faith, unless, indeed, one of them becomes a convert to the tenets of the other, as was the case with the Greek church, which admitted at the Council of Florence, in 1438, the supremacy of the pope, the dogma of the purgatory, and the *filioque*, although it retained its discipline and ceremonies. Mutual concessions may be effected in point of discipline and ceremonies, when there is no difference about dogmas. Thus the union between the Bohemian and Helvetian churches of Poland was easily and permanently effected at the synod of Kozminek (1565), whilst the union of these two above-mentioned churches with that of Augsburg, effected at Sandomir (1570), was soon destroyed by the ever-recurring disputes concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist.

Meeting of the
Colloquium,
and its composition.

On the appointed day, the 28th August 1645, the divines delegated by the respective confessions assembled at Thorn. The king directed George Ossolinski, chancellor of Poland, to preside over the assembly, and John Leszczynski, castellan of Gnezno, as his assistant, having provided them with instructions, composed of twenty-five articles. The parties were represented in the following manner: the Roman Catholics reckoned under the presidency of George Tyszkiewickz, bishop of Samogitia, twenty-five divines, delegated from all the dioceses of Poland and the university of Cracow; the Bohemian

and Helvetian churches sent under the presidency of Zbignev Gorayski, castellan of Chelm, twenty-three divines, amongst whom there were the celebrated Amos Comenius, Fr. Reichel, professor of the university of Frankfort on the Oder, and S. Bergius, chaplain to the elector of Brandenburg ; the Lutherans were represented under the presidency of Sigismund Güldenstern, starost of Stum, by twenty-eight divines, amongst whom there were John Hülseman, professor of the university of Wittemberg, and two professors of that of Königsberg. There were present, besides, many persons belonging to all the confessions.

The deliberations of the assembly were opened in the following manner: the Roman Catholics, after having assisted at a mass, performed by the bishop of Samogitia, repaired to the town-hall, where, with the royal commissioners, they occupied the seats on the right side. They were soon joined by the Helveto-Bohemians, who occupied the seats on the opposite side of the hall ; the Lutherans, who arrived the last, occupied the places behind the latter, and felt mortified at that circumstance. The middle of the hall was destined for the disputants, the clerks, and the chancellor, who occupied a place between the bishop of Samogitia and Leszczynski. The deliberations commenced with a speech of the chancellor, as royal commissioner, in which he said, " That Vladislav the Fourth, a second Constantine, had by

Manner of proceeding during the discussions of the Colloquium prescribed by the royal instruction.

his care preserved Poland from the horrors of a religious war, at a time when neighbouring countries were spilling blood in religious feuds; and that, desiring to prevent a similar evil from being communicated from without, to the dominions subject to his sceptre, he had resolved to convoke this *Colloquium Charitativum*, in order that each confession might there announce, in a modest and proper manner, its religious doctrines. The king hoped that the religious differences might thus be easily removed, and that the divines would then occupy themselves in settling points of discipline, ceremonies, &c. That, for the purpose of attaining this object, the king had directed him to preside, and to endeavour to establish amongst the divines of the different confessions concord and brotherly love. Finally, that in his own name, he requested the assistance of all present in attaining to the desired object." After the conclusion of the chancellor's speech, there were read the royal commission and instructions. By them the following proceedings were prescribed: 1st. The doctrine of each confession was to be defined in its strictest sense; 2d. The truth or error of that doctrine was to be discussed; 3d. The discipline and ceremonies of the church were to be considered. After this each confession was to describe in a compendious, but clear manner, the articles under controversy, to present them to the other confession, and to explain them by

writing and verbally until it should be distinctly understood what the real doctrine of each confession was, and what also was erroneously ascribed to it. In discussing the articles of faith, the parties were not to quarrel, but reply to objections three times at the utmost ; after which they were no longer to fight with subtleties and quibbles, but rather attentively to consider what might and ought to be done for the restoration of the peace of the church, without injury to truth and conscience. The royal instructions further expressed a hope, that if the parties should agree in doctrine, there would be no difficulty in doing the same respecting discipline and ceremonies. The king recommended, at the same time, that the parties should abstain from all passionate manifestations and expressions ; that the principal points of discussion should be written down, and the verbal exposition of them be as short as possible ; that every writing addressed from one confession to another, should be previously submitted to the royal commissioner and the lay presidents, who were to change or expunge every expression insulting to the confession to which the writing was addressed. Each confession was bound accordingly to consider, in the course of two or three days, any writing presented to it ; it might require one or two written explanations of that subject, and demand a verbal discussion in the course of three days ; such discussions to

be made by two out of twelve orators, at the beginning of the *Colloquium*, to be chosen by each confession. The protocol of each discussion was to be perused by the notaries of the two confessions engaged in the discussion. These protocols were to be read at the conclusion of every meeting, then to be signed by the presidents, and after having been sealed by six deputies, to be delivered to the royal commissioners. During the sitting of the colloquium, no member was to divulge its proceedings until the protocols should be published by order of the king. Before leaving Thorn, and at their last meetings, the divines were, in case of non-success, to discuss and carefully examine whatever had impeded or was likely to impede the accomplishment of the desired union, and whether any impediment was so considerable as not to be capable of being set aside without great sacrifices. The colloquium could only close with the unanimous consent of all its members. No confession was permitted to leave the colloquium against the wish of the others ; but the confession that might wish to do so was directed to lay before the royal commissioner a written statement of the reasons for taking such a step ; and the commissioner was either to decide on the application himself, or submit it to the pleasure of the king.

When the instructions had been read, the bishop of Samogitia addressed the assembly in

a speech of great moderation, in which he praised the solicitude entertained by the monarch and the synod of Warsaw for the peace and unity of the Christian church, and exhorted the assembly to effect so desirable an object. Then were read the letter of the primate, appointing the bishop of Samogitia president of the Roman Catholic deputies, and a list of these divines ; after which Gorayski, president of the Helvetian and Bohemian confessions, and Hülsemann, professor of divinity of the university of Wittenberg, made speeches laudatory of the goodness of the king, and his anxiety for religious peace, and gave thanks to him and the commissioner for the pains they had taken in promoting that object. The remainder of this preliminary meeting was employed in electing the orators and notaries of the respective confessions. For this last-named office the Roman Catholics chose Frederick Meybohm and Thomas Clagius, both Jesuits ; the Bohemians and Helvetians, Christophorus Pandlowski and Benjamin Ursyn ; the Lutherans, Joachim Gebelius and John Holfeld. These notaries took an oath before the royal commissioner.

We have given a detailed account of the preliminary meeting in order to show the composition of the *Colloquium Charitativum* of Thorn, and the manner of proceeding ; but it would be transgressing the limits of our work, without giving our readers any valuable information, were

we to attempt to describe in the same manner the thirty-six meetings of this convocation, which, notwithstanding the failure of its object, is undoubtedly a remarkable event in the religious history of Poland: we shall, therefore, content ourselves by describing the most important transactions of the convocation. In the first place, it was resolved to postpone the general meetings until the respective confessions should agree in particular conferences about the preliminary subjects. This took so much time, that the first general meeting could not take place before the 16th of September, and all the interval was employed in arranging the order of proceedings, the titles by which the orators of the different confessions were to address each other, and similar trifles. At the general meeting on the 16th of September, the confessions could not agree about the prayer with which every meeting was to commence. The Roman Catholics wished that the bishop of Samogitia should read at the opening of the meetings a prayer, containing nothing contrary to the doctrine of the other confessions, and that all present should repeat it. The Helvetians and Bohemians agreed to this proposition, but the Lutherans refused to join in prayer with persons from whom they differed in creed. At the same meeting the Jesuit Schönhoff read the articles ascribed to the Roman Catholic church, but which he disclaimed; and

afterwards those which that church acknowledges. After this the Helvetians and Bohemians read their confession, against which the bishop of Samogitia protested, declaring that it contained expressions which were derogatory to the Roman Catholics, and therefore contrary to the royal instruction. The chancellor called the document a libel, and refused to receive it. Gorayski, president of the Helvetian and Bohemian delegates, took the part of his confession, and had some altercation with the bishop of Samogitia and the chancellor. It was, however, finally settled that the obnoxious confession should be expressed in more moderate terms. Gorayski declared, however, that his party would not join the general meeting unless all that had happened should be regularly entered in the minutes. After this dispute, the Lutherans presented their confession to the chancellor, who delivered it to the Roman Catholic clergy, with the remark that, though moderate in language, it could not be read until purged of its controversial spirit. At the conclusion of this meeting the chancellor departed from Thorn, leaving in his place Leszczyński, castellan of Gniezno. The next meeting was taken up with a dispute between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, as to which of them had first violated the royal instruction. The Jesuit Schönhoff ascribed the fault to the anti-Romanists, who refuted that accusation both ver-

The parties quarrel at the beginning of the deliberations, which, after thirty-six meetings, produce no result.

bally and in writing. While, however, they were defending a common cause against the Romanists, they were squabbling amongst themselves in a manner disgraceful if not absurd. Thus, for instance, when the Helvetian minister Bergius began to read an answer to the accusation of the Jesuit Schönhoff, he was interrupted by the Lutheran Bojanowski, who maintained that the priority belonged to the Lutherans; and when Bergius continued to read, Bojanowski protested against this act, upon which Gorayski, president of the Helvetian and Bohemian confessions, protested against Bojanowski's protest. When order had been restored, Hülsemann read the answer of the Lutherans. The Jesuit Schönhoff replied to the Helvetians; and Cyrus, a Carmelite monk, to the Lutherans. Finally, the bishop of Samogitia moved, that those who wished to continue the argument should do so in writing; but the Lutherans wished to give one more verbal answer, and declared that they would not take part in any farther transactions, until the confession of faith presented by them should have been read. This was opposed by the Romanists, and thus the proceedings of the assembly were stopped. Leszczynski dispatched the Jesuit Schönhoff to the king, who was staying at a place not very distant from Thorn, to represent to him the state of affairs, and to demand instructions how to proceed farther. The Protestants also sent depu-

ties to the king. The chancellor, in the name of the king, commanded the delegates to conform strictly to the first article of his instructions, in which he had recommended them to carry on their deliberations in a spirit of Christian charity, and forbidding one confession to force articles of doctrine upon another. Meanwhile that the Lutherans were insisting that the confession presented by them should be read, the Helveto-Bohemians refused to make the slightest alteration in their confession; all the Protestants were demanding that the Roman Catholics should declare, in writing or verbally, what gave them offence in the confessions of faith which they had presented; and the Roman Catholics refused their demands. The Carmelite monk Cyrus handed in a protest against the professor of Wittenberg, Hülsemann, which the Protestants would not suffer to be entered in the minutes. After several protests had been made on both sides, the inutility of continuing the discussions became evident, and the *Colloquium* was closed on the 21st of November, with very little solemnity. The royal commissioner made a speech, in which he lamented the unsuccessful issue of the meeting; the presidents of the several confessions replied to it; and the assembly separated, after going through some insignificant forms. Instead of producing a reconciliation of the adverse confessions, or even an approxima-

tion to it, the *Colloquium* rather increased their mutual acrimony; and each party published pamphlets, charging its opponents with that ill success which was fairly attributable to none, because produced by the very nature of things.

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF JOHN CASIMIR.

THE reign of the unfortunate John Casimir is certainly the most eventful period of Polish history. The disasters which befel Poland under that reign brought it to the very brink of ruin, and shook that hitherto mighty empire to its foundations. But although the dreadful calamities to which Poland was exposed during a space of twenty years, produced most deplorable consequences, they showed the great energy of the national character; an energy that saved the country from the annihilation with which it was threatened by a simultaneous invasion of powerful neighbours, and by, what was worse, domestic dissensions.

King Vladislav had not yet breathed his last, when a terrible revolt of the Cossacks, headed

by Chmielnicki,* broke out in the Ukraine, and spread rapidly over the south-eastern provinces of the empire. This insurrection was produced by the hatred which the people inhabiting those provinces, and professing the Greek religion, entertained against the union with Rome, which was continually urged upon them. Besides this, there were other reasons of a political nature, and several accidental circumstances, which contributed to bring about this deplorable event. To investigate those causes, however, belongs to political history, and our limits preclude us from digressing into such disquisitions.

Revolt of the
Cossacks.

The anti-Romanists could not expect a continuation of Vladislav's equitable rule, from such a candidate to the throne as was his brother, John Casimir, who had given sufficient evidence of his religious disposition by successively becoming a Jesuit and a cardinal. They endeavoured therefore to prevent his election, and to procure that of Stephen Ragotzi, prince of Transylvania, who although a Protestant, was supported also by many Roman Catholics, and by the celebrated warrior, prince Jeremy Wiszniowiecki, amongst others. The death of Ragotzi left John Casimir without a competitor, and he was elected on the 22d of November 1648.

Election of
John Casimir.

The Protestants exerted themselves to obtain a guarantee for their rights, and security against

Fruitless en-
deavours of the
Protestants to

* Pronounced Khmielnitzki.

provide for the
better security
of their rights.

increasing persecution. They still numbered in their ranks many powerful grandees and men of high rank, such as were Janus Prince Radziwill, field-general of Lithuania ; Boguslav Radziwill, grand master of the horse for the same duchy ; Leszczynski, palatine of Dorpat ; Denhoff, palatine of Pomerania ; Gorayski, castellan of Chelm ; and many others. Schlichting, judge of Wscho-wa, made on that occasion an eloquent speech, representing that, although the rights and liberties of Protestants were secured to them by the laws of the country, they suffered more persecution than did their ancestors before the confederation of 1573, which secured to all the citizens of Poland the liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences. He afterwards enumerated the manifold injuries inflicted on the Protestants in several parts of Poland. Gorayski followed Schlichting, and stated that the confederation which by the wisdom of their ancestors had preserved Poland from the shedding of Christian blood, had often been violated ; that the Protestants had for a long time patiently endured many wrongs, and offered up their own sufferings for the public weal ; but that, since every constitutional guarantee and security had been violated, they were obliged to claim their legal rights. He presented at the same time to the diet a list of sixteen grievances, in which complaint was particularly made of the restric-

tions which the sentences of the tribunals imposed on religious liberty ; of several open persecutions and of exclusion from public offices, and he concluded by demanding, in strong terms, that the confederation of 1573 should be strictly observed. This created a considerable irritation amongst the zealous Romanists ; and Balcer Sarbiewski, judge of Ciechanow, violently attacked the Protestants, accusing them of violating the cardinal law of Mazovia (where Warsaw was situated), which excluded Protestants from that duchy, by holding religious meetings in the garden of prince Radziwill, where, as he said, they abused the Holy Catholic Church.* A great tumult ensued, and there was some ground for apprehending bloodshed. At last a patriotic nuncio, Stephan Korycinski, addressed the diet in a speech recommending concord, and beseeching the Protestants that, considering the danger in which the country was placed, they would content themselves with the confirmation of the liberties, and not present their grievances to a diet which had assembled to deliberate about the welfare of the country, and not to adjudicate on

* Vide vol. i. page 126. Sarbiewski was, however, wrong in his application of that law. The confederation of 1573, by establishing a perfect religious liberty, abrogated *ipso facto* all former laws enacted to a contrary effect ; it was binding to all the provinces of Poland, and consequently in the duchy of Mazovia.

grievances. Janus Radziwill demanded that the confederation of 1573 should be proclaimed by the diet as an immutable law, and that all who should violate it should be made responsible before the ordinary tribunals. The Romanists rejected this just demand. The Protestants, considering their minority, and the common danger from Chmielnicki, whose bands massacred equally Roman Catholics and Protestants, agreed to the motion of Korycinski, after which a general confirmation of their ancient liberties was inserted into the acts of the diet, as well as the *Pacta Conventa*; but their list of grievances received no answer. At the diet of coronation, in 1649, the Protestants again sought redress, but the diet was too much occupied by the defence of the country against the Cossacks to give any attention to civil affairs, though it promised to examine them at the next diet. This next diet, however, which took place in 1650, produced no favourable results, and the Protestants obtained only written promises from the king, the primate Lubinski, and Leszczynski, marshal of the chamber of the nuncios, that their affairs should be examined, and their claims satisfied at the next diet: promises which were never fulfilled.

Although the political history of Poland enters not into the range of our researches, we cannot omit a brief mention of the principal

events in the reign of John Casimir, since they were intimately connected with the religious affairs of that period. We have already stated that a revolt of the Cossacks broke out under Chmielnicki, a short time before the demise of king Vladislav the Fourth. This insurrection spread rapidly over the provinces inhabited by a population professing the Greek religion, and extended to some parts of Lithuania. In consequence of the disorder caused by the interregnum, the rebels advanced into the province of Little Poland, as far as Leopol and Zamosc, committing every where the greatest excesses, without any distinction of religious persuasion. At last their career of devastation was checked by the victories of the Lithuanian army, under the command of prince Janus Radziwill, who defeated them on several occasions.

War with the
Cossacks.

In addition to Radziwill, many other anti-Romanists distinguished themselves on that occasion by their services to their country, and we may mention among them the grand master of the ordnance, Christopher Arciszewski,* and Adam

* Arciszewski was born towards the end of the sixteenth century, in Grand Poland, where his father, Elias Arciszewski, who was a particular friend of Socinus, and a great propagator of his sect, of which he was a minister, possessed some estates. He received an excellent education, and applied himself with great success to all the sciences relating to the military profession. He left his own country, as it appears, being involved in

Kisiel (who was surnamed, on account of his prudence and political sagacity, the Richelieu of Poland). Professing the same religion with the Cos-

a quarrel with some Roman Catholic priest, where he had acted with great violence, and went to serve abroad. He entered the Dutch service, and was appointed to an important command in the Brazils, which the Dutch had just conquered from the Portuguese. Arciszewski defended that conquest with great success against the Spaniards, notwithstanding the inferiority of his forces; opposing the enemy's numbers by his great valour, extraordinary activity, and superior knowledge of military science. He constructed several fortresses, and his justice and impartiality gained for him the esteem of the conquered populations. The best proof of his disinterestedness is, that after having commanded for many years in so rich a country as Brazil, he left it poorer than when he assumed that command. He says in one of his letters, with a noble pride, "I have always preferred glory to riches, and I have only once taken, as a ransom of a Spanish town, because they had hanged a good soldier of mine, two thousand dollars, which I immediately distributed amongst my troops." A dispute with Count Mauritius, of Nassau, who was sent to Brazils by the Dutch government, induced Arciszewski to leave that country in order to lay his complaint before the states of Holland. The services which Arciszewski had rendered to Holland must have been of great importance, and his complaints against Count Mauritius of Nassau just, when the general states of that country, notwithstanding the great influence possessed by the Nassau family, did not blame Arciszewski's conduct; but, on the contrary, assigned to him a large sum of money for the levy of new troops, and a golden medal was struck in his honour. The medal contains on one side Arciszewski's family arms, suspended on a column, surrounded by trophies and a wreath of laurels, with the two following inscriptions:—" *Victricem accipe laurum;*"

sacks he enjoyed great influence amongst them, by which means he became chiefly instrumental in bringing about a temporary pacification in 1649, whereby the domestic war was suspended for a

and, second, "*Hostis Hisp. profligat.*" On the reverse, the following inscription: "*Heroi, generis nobilitate, armorum et literarum scientia longe præstantissimo Christ. ab Arcischau Arciszewski rebus in Bresilia per triennium, prudentiss. fortis. feliciss. gestis. Societas Americana suæ gratitudinis, et ipsius fortitudinis, ac fidei, hoc monumentum esse voluit. A Ch. Nato MDCCXXXVII.*"

This medal was engraved in the Metalic History of Holland, by Gerhard Loon; and in the splendid work published by Count Edward Raczyński, in French and Polish, entitled *The Polish Medalier*, Breslaw, 1838.

Arciszewski, who apparently remained in the Dutch service till the peace with Portugal in 1641, was invited in a very honourable manner, by king Vladislav the Fourth, to enter the service of his own country. He accepted that proposition, and was created master of the ordnance in 1646; he was also made castellan of Przemyśl, and received the starosty of Kamieniec. His nomination to the office of the master of the ordnance expresses that he was an admiral in the Dutch service. He died in the beginning of the reign of John Casimir, at Leszno, whither he had retired in his old age; his body was deposited in the vaults of the Protestant church of that place, where it was burnt with that church during the conflagration of 1656. He was educated in the Socinian tenets, but he conformed to the Reformed Church during his residence in Holland. Arciszewski left several writings, which were much esteemed in those times. He had a brother named Elias, who left Poland at the same time with him, and for the same reasons. He distinguished himself in the services of Denmark and Sweden, after which he retired to his own country, and served in its army with great credit.

Pacification of
the revolt de-
feated by the
Roman Catho-
lic clergy.

short time. This pacification, which gave many privileges to the Cossacks who returned to their allegiance to the crown of Poland, not only confirmed all the ancient rights and liberties of the Eastern church of Poland, but conceded moreover to its head, the metropolitan of Kioff, a seat in the senate. This clause, however, which, by admitting to the honours of the senate the head of a powerful party, and cementing its union with the state, was as just as it was politic, was defeated by the Roman Catholic clergy, who, with the papal nuncio at their head, declared that as soon as the metropolitan of Kioff, who had already arrived at Warsaw, should take his seat in the senate, all the Roman Catholic bishops would leave it. This circumstance, and the unceasing efforts of the Romanists to promote the union with Rome, as well as several minor causes, rekindled the civil war, which, notwithstanding the brilliant victory of Beresteczko, gained on the 28th of June 1651, by the Poles, over the united forces of the Cossacks and the Tartars of Crimea, proved disastrous to Poland.

War with
Muscovy.

It would be foreign to our subject to give a description of that eventful war, and we shall only mention that Chmielnicki called to his aid the Tzar of Muscovy, who, in 1654, invaded the frontiers of Poland. Prince Janus Radziwill, whom we have mentioned as the leader of the Protestant party, was at that time grand general

of Lithuania. Although a brave and skilful general, he committed a great fault by risking a battle against the overwhelming forces of the enemy without waiting for the arrival of the field general Gonsiewski. This fault becomes unpardonable if, as it is supposed, Radziwill acted with such rashness from a fear of sharing the glory of an anticipated victory with Gonsiewski. He was defeated, and the enemy occupied a great part of Lithuania. But a more formidable enemy than the Cossacks and Moscovites invaded Poland: we mean Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden; and as this war had considerable influence on the religious affairs of Poland, we must give our readers a short sketch of its causes and principal events.

John Casimir, being a son of Sigismund, the third Vaza, who was deprived of the throne of Sweden by his uncle Charles, duke of Sudermania, afterwards Charles the Ninth, was a pretender to the throne of Sweden, with that species of claim which the descendants of James the Second had to the crown of Great Britain. John Casimir entertained the chimerical hope of recovering the throne of Sweden, and expected to attain his object by means of negotiation with queen Christina, forgetting that Romanism, of which he was a zealous professor, presented an insurmountable bar to his possession of a Protestant kingdom. The claims of John Casimir,

War with Sweden; its causes.

who assumed the title of king of Sweden, failed not to provoke the jealousy and ill-will of the court of Stockholm, which secretly incited the Cossacks against Poland. To these political causes must be added one of a private nature, which had a great influence over the affairs of Poland. John Casimir became enamoured of the wife of Hieronymus Radziejowski, vice-chancellor of Poland, and one of his own favourites. He offered to that influential grandee the first dignities of the state as well as rich starosties, if he would sacrifice his honour as a husband. Radziejowski rejected the shameful proposition ; but his wife, who did not share the same honourable feelings, acted with great hostility against her husband, and taking advantage of his absence, and the assistance of her brother, seized upon his house. Radziejowski, on his return to the capital, assembled his friends and retook his house by force. Each party having committed violence in the residence of the monarch, had been guilty of a capital offence ; but the grand marshal's tribunal, to which the cognisance of such crimes belonged, being under the influence of the king and his partisans, pronounced a decree, by which Radziejowski was condemned to the utmost penalty of the law, whilst his wife and her brother were sentenced to a punishment nominal only. Radziejowski, exasperated at such proceedings, left Poland, and in order to avenge his

wrongs became a traitor to his country. He went to Vienna, and endeavoured to stir up the emperor against John Casimir, but not succeeding, he repaired to Stockholm, where he was received with distinction by Charles Gustavus prince of Deux Ponts, to whom queen Christina had resigned her throne. Radziejowski persuaded the new king of Sweden that the discontent which prevailed in Poland against John Casimir would render the acquisition of that crown easy. John Casimir himself furnished the king of Sweden with a ready pretence for attacking him, by protesting, through his ambassador at Stockholm, against the accession of Charles Gustavus. John Casimir perceived his fault, and tried to avert its consequences by negotiation, but his efforts proved unavailing. The Swedish field-marshal, Wittenberg, entered the province of Grand Poland, from Pomerania, with an army of seventeen thousand men ; and the palatinates of Poznan and Kalisz, induced by Radziejowski, openly joined the Swedes at a place called Uyscie, on the 25th July 1655. The Protestants of that province joined on that occasion their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, and it is very likely that they were even more zealous in espousing the interests of a monarch, by whose accession to the throne they were sure to obtain a perfect security for their religion. Yet, we think that the accusa-

The Swedes invade Poland, and are joined by a great number of the discontented inhabitants.

tion broached against them by a modern author,* that they had chiefly contributed to the above-mentioned union with the Swedes, is by no means just and fair; for how could the Protestants, who had not sufficient influence to avert the persecution to which they were continually exposed, acquire, of a sudden, such a powerful influence over their countrymen as to induce them to commit an act of open rebellion?

John Casimir leaves Poland, which is almost entirely occupied by the king of Sweden.

The king of Sweden soon followed Wittenberg with fresh forces, and having refused to negotiate with John Casimir's envoy, marched on Warsaw. John Casimir retired without any combat to Cracow, and even left that city for Silesia, where he possessed the principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor. Charles Gustavus defeated a corps of Polish troops under Lanckoronski and Koniecpolski, who were obliged to surrender and swear allegiance to him; whilst Cracow, after a brave defence by Czarniecki, was also obliged to submit. Meanwhile Lithuania, being hard pressed by the Moscovites, who took Vilna and ravaged the country, acknowledged the king of Sweden

* Vide Lukaszewicz's History of the Bohemian Brethren in Grand Poland, page 227. We are sorry to express our dissent from such an estimable author as is Mr. L., but the general impartiality and candour which distinguishes his work, makes it the more imperative on us not to let pass unnoticed what we consider an error.

as hereditary sovereign, and declared its own independence of Poland.

This act is also unjustly attributed to the Protestants.* Prince Janus Radziwill, it is true, was privy to the convention of Kieydany, concluded the 16th August 1655, with the Swedish general Magnus de la Gardie; but it was also signed by prince Janus Radziwill, a Protestant; by the Roman Catholic bishop of Samogitia, and by the castellan of Wenden, also a Roman Catholic; the nature of this affair was, therefore, purely political and not religious, and was brought about for the separate interest of the Lithuanians, and not of the Protestants. Indeed, it is scarcely possible to wonder that the Lithuanians, pressed as they were by such cruel enemies as the Moscovites and the Cossacks, sought safety by acknowledging the sovereignty of a monarch who could assist them in repelling those barbarians, and whose authority was already acknowledged by a great part of Poland.

Unjust accusation of the Protestants of having submitted Lithuania to the Swedes.

Charles Gustavus, owing to the general discontent with John Casimir, which was created by the weakness and follies of that unfortunate monarch, met with little opposition in Poland. In the course of a few months the king of Swe-

* Lukaszewicz *Loco Citato*; he, however, but repeats the statement of other historians.

The towns of Polish Prussia, although peopled by Protestants, resist the Swedish invasion.

The king of Sweden loses the advantages he had obtained in Poland by his haughty and imprudent behaviour.

den was master of almost all Poland, except those parts which were overrun by Moscovites and Cossacks, and the province of Prussia, which, and particularly the towns, although inhabited by Protestants, remained firm in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, despite his well-known bigotry; whilst provinces and towns inhabited by Romanists had submitted to the Protestant invader. Charles Gustavus left Cracow with the intention of reducing them, taking with him a part of the Polish troops which had submitted to him. He considered himself, as indeed nothing seemed to prevent him from becoming, the sovereign of Poland; but his rapid success had inflated him with pride, and instead of securing the possession of the crown by obtaining the sanction of the law, he preferred holding it as a conquest. Thus, when the deputies of the palatinate of Sandomir required that he should convocate a diet for the election of the king, he haughtily answered, that "he did not want any election, as he could be and was already king and master of the nation by the right of conquest;" and, pointing to his sword, added, "that he owed to it his election." This reply irritated the Poles, while the reverses of John Casimir excited the generous feelings of the nation, which forgot his follies and thought only of his distress. Several patriots established a confederation at

Tyszowce,* on the 19th of December 1655. They invited John Casimir to join them; and he, with a hope of recovering his throne, solemnly committed his kingdom and himself to the especial protection of the Holy Virgin, vowing at the same time to remove the grievances of the lower orders, and to convert the heretics, which signified to persecute them. The king of Sweden, who was occupied in Prussia, where several towns were still holding out against him, left that province and marched to the south. But, notwithstanding many advantages which he obtained over the partisans of John Casimir, he was constantly losing ground, particularly as the infatuation of those Poles who had embraced his party passed away.

The confederation of Tyszowce restores the fortunes of John Casimir.

Our limits do not permit us to expatiate on the events of that war, and we shall only mention that the awakened energies of the nation, as well as several fortunate circumstances, continued to free Poland from its invaders, whose number was for some time increased by George Ragotzi, prince of Transylvania, who overran a part of Poland with considerable forces. But we must relate the influence which that war produced on the fortunes of the Protestants of Poland.

The Swedes are expelled from Poland.

We have already said that the Protestants of Grand Poland belonged to the party which had

* A little town in the palatinate of Lublin.

espoused the interest of Charles Gustavus, and it was natural that they should adhere to him in preference to John Casimir, who had loudly proclaimed his bigoted views on the subject of religion. Although the Swedish king was very careful to preserve strict discipline amongst his troops, in order to gain over the inhabitants of a country which he intended permanently to occupy, and, guided by the same policy, had shown great respect to the Roman Catholic churches and their clergy, the extraordinary success that attended his arms naturally enough caused a relaxation of discipline, so that his troops began to allow themselves every kind of excess, and chiefly against the Roman Catholic clergy. It was not to be wondered at that troops, of whom many, having fought in the thirty years' war, were accustomed to the licentiousness engendered by protracted warfare, and taught to consider religion as the watchword of a party and a signal of strife and bloodshed, should act in Poland according to such ideas. The lust of rapine promoted religious hatred, and many churches, convents, and nunneries, chiefly in Grand Poland, fell a prey to the rapacity of the Swedish soldiery, who murdered or treated in the most cruel manner several Roman Catholic clergymen. Thus John Branecki, suffragan of Poznanian, a learned divine, was murdered in his own house ; Albert Gowarczowski, arch-

Cruelties committed on the Roman Catholic clergy in Poland by the Swedish soldiery.

deacon of the same chapter, had both his hands cut off, and was thrown into a river. At Zbonszyn, Babimost, and several other places, the priests were murdered in a cruel manner. At the town of Izrem all the Franciscan monks were massacred. Wrzesowitz, a native of Bohemia, and general in the Swedish service, seemed to avenge on the Polish Romanists, who were innocent of them, the wrongs which the Protestants had suffered in his country, and disgraced his religion by the most barbarous excesses, plundering Roman Catholic churches and convents, and massacreing the clergy. The Roman Catholic writers accuse the Protestants of Grand Poland of having instigated the Swedes to commit those enormities, and the Socinians and Bohemian brethren, and in particular those among the latter who had fled for refuge to Poland from Bohemia and Moravia, are chiefly accused of having been zealously devoted to the Swedes. Although we cannot but give our unqualified condemnation to every action which tends to promote the interests of a foreign invader against our native land, it is easy to conceive that, in a country torn by factions, as Poland was at that time, principles of patriotism might unfortunately give place to the spirit of party. We certainly are by no means astonished that the Socinians, who were persecuted by Romanists and Protestants alike, should seek protection from the

The Protestants accused of abetting the Swedish oppressions.

Swedes: but we think that such conduct was most unpardonable in the Bohemian and Moravian refugees, who had found a safe asylum in Poland from the persecution which drove them from their own country.

Destruction of
Leszno, and
severe perse-
cution of Pro-
testants in
Grand Poland.

The irritation thus excited against the Swedes, and those who, whether justly or unjustly, were considered their abettors, may be easily conceived. Nor was the following circumstance calculated to restore good feelings amongst the opposite parties. The nobles of Grand Poland having recovered from the infatuation which made them espouse the interests of the king of Sweden, rose in arms against the foreign invaders, and destroyed several detachments of their troops. On the 27th April 1656 they approached the town of Leszno, inhabited almost exclusively by Protestants, but chiefly by Bohemian brethren. The Poles summoned the town to open the gates, and a small Swedish garrison, consisting of a few hundred horsemen, which occupied it, wished to retire; but the celebrated scholar, John Amos Comenius, who was at that time rector of the school of Leszno, persuaded the inhabitants as well as the garrison to defend themselves to the last. The Poles being refused admittance, attacked the town, but were repulsed with a loss of about one hundred men. On the following day, however, such an unaccountable panic seized upon the inhabitants, that, hearing that the Poles

were again approaching, they left it in the greatest confusion, with their families and such property as they were able to take with them, flying to Silesia, near the frontier of which this town is situated. The Swedish garrison also left the town, which about six o'clock in the evening was almost a desert. The Poles occupied the empty town, which was delivered up to be pillaged by the neighbouring villagers, and afterwards set on fire. Many of the fugitives were overtaken, and either murdered or cruelly treated, and despoiled of every thing. Some time afterwards the celebrated Polish general Czarniecki, who contributed the most to the deliverance of his country from the invaders, entered the province of Grand Poland with an army, which he was obliged to compose of such elements as he could, and which contained a great many Wallachians, accustomed to all the excesses of barbarous warfare. Although Czarniecki exerted himself to the utmost to maintain discipline, and punished with death every breach of it, he was unable to restrain his ill-paid soldiery from committing the greatest enormities. Under pretence of punishing the inhabitants of Grand Poland for rebellion against their lawful king, they pillaged them, without regard to their political or religious opinions. But although even the Roman Catholic clergy were not exempt, these barbarities fell most heavily on the Protestants, who, from the causes

which we have described, had become an object of hatred to their Roman Catholic countrymen. Thousands of them were obliged to seek refuge in Silesia, Brandenburg and Saxony, whilst a great number fell victims to the unbridled license of the soldiery, or the hatred of their religious enemies. Thus, for instance, in the town of Skoki alone, sixty-five Protestants were murdered; and the Protestant clergymen, Jacubowicz, Orlicki, Milota, Kardus, and many others, were deprived of life by the most revolting torments. Several churches were lost, and a great many families amongst the inferior classes passed to Romanism, particularly as during two years there was no Protestant service in all the province of Grand Poland. The Protestant nobles returned to the country as soon as it had become quiet, but the ministers dared not reappear till the end of 1658, when some of them secretly ventured to make occasional visits, and to perform divine service.*

* Vide Lukaszewicz, page 227, and following. There is also a curious manuscript in the archiepiscopal library of Lambeth, entitled "*Ultimus in Protestantibus Bohemiae Confessionis Ecclesias Antichristi furor,*" written by Hartman and Cyrill, Protestant clergymen, and professors of the school of Leszno, who call themselves the "exiles of Christ," and who were sent to Holland and Great Britain to ask succour for their distressed brethren, which was granted them with much liberality by the Protestants of those countries. It contains a description of

It was not till security had been restored by the treaty of Oliva, in 1660, that the Protestant ministers could openly return to their flocks, which they found in the most deplorable condition. The churches were either taken by Romanists, burnt down, or entirely dilapidated ; whilst the congregations were reduced by pillage and exactions to such a state of destitution that they had no means of rebuilding their churches, or even of repairing them. The subscriptions raised in Holland and England, by delegates sent for that purpose, however considerable, were far from being adequate to the wants of the unfortunate Protestants of Grand Poland, who never recovered from the heavy blow inflicted upon them by the events which we have described.

If the Protestants of Cracow could not be sheltered from Romanist persecution, even under the tolerant reign of Vladislav the Fourth, how much more were they to apprehend it under the reign of his successor, whose religious opinions were as bigoted as those of his deceased brother

of the most revolting barbarities inflicted on the Protestants, without difference of age or sex, and concludes with the words "*dolor vetat plura addere.*" There was also a printed statement, composed after this manuscript, which was submitted by these delegates to Cromwell, who authorized them, by an ordinance, dated 2d May 1659, to raise subscriptions throughout the country. Vide also "A Representation of the State of the Protestant Churches in Europe ;" London, 1659.

Persecution of
Protestants at
Cracow.

were enlightened. They remained, however, unmolested for two years, perhaps owing to the common danger to which both Protestants and Romanists were exposed from the Cossacks, who used no discrimination in massacre and pillage. But in 1650, the Feast of the Ascension was, as usual, chosen for an attack on the Protestants. The students of the university made regular preparations for that purpose; they entrusted to one of them called Ryszkowski the command of the riot, and enlisted for the same purpose many from among the mob. Thus prepared, they attacked the houses of Valand, a rich burgher, and that of Chrzonstowski, a noble and judge of the district of Cracow, and pillaged all the property which they contained, and which was very considerable. Encouraged by their easy success, the rioters began to pillage other houses and shops without regard to the religion of the owners. This induced the authorities to interfere; the rioters were dispersed, and several of them imprisoned; but the Protestants refused to prosecute, knowing by experience that no justice could be obtained in such a case.* The nobles of the dis-

* Wengierski says nothing about the punishment of the rioters, but Kochowski says that they were punished. This last-named author, who was a Roman Catholic, not daring to excuse the excesses committed by the students of the university, affects to treat them lightly. He says: "*Alumni privilegia quædam credant aut jactant sibi indita, quosque a fide orthodoxa alienos*"

trict of Province (in the palatinate of Cracow), recommended their nuncios at the diet to obtain an enactment that such excesses should be punished with great severity; and the diet granted the request. But of what use was it to make new laws, when those which had already been made for the same purpose* were not acted on? Many Protestant inhabitants, afraid of the recurrence of similar scenes, left Cracow; and the emigration of several wealthy citizens was very prejudicial to the commerce and industry of that town. In 1653, an extensive plot was organized against the Protestants, and a great number of the neighbouring villagers were enlisted for a new riot, which had it taken place, would probably have ended in the massacre of all the Protestants, and an indiscriminate pillage of the town. Fortunately the Roman Catholic clergy, afraid of the consequences to which it might lead, succeeded in preventing it. During the occupation of Cracow by the Swedes, the

nos vexandi; indultum aliquid scholarum licentiæ puerile bellum."

But Rudawski, although a Roman Catholic clergyman, condemns, in the most unqualified manner, those nefarious proceedings. His words are these: "*Insolentes conglobato numero studiosi, audaci facinore, sub prætextu religionis aedes cujusdâ mercatoris invadunt diripiunt, ac solo æquant. Indebitum re vera, audaxque etiam in dissidentes impune studiosorum facinus.*" Ad ann. 1650.

* Vide page 56.

Protestants were safe in the town from every molestation ; but the Swedish soldiers, when their discipline began to relax, made no difference between the various religious persuasions in pillaging the inhabitants of the vicinity. The Protestants of the palatinate of Cracow were exposed, in addition to the general oppression from foreign troops, to the persecution of their Romanist countrymen, who, accusing them of partiality to the Swedes, committed against them great barbarities. Thus, for instance, two Roman Catholic clergymen, at the head of a fanatical rabble, attacked the Protestant church of Wielkanoc, which they completely destroyed, together with many habitations. A Protestant woman was murdered on that occasion, and some persons wounded. A band of similar ruffians, led by a Roman Catholic clergyman, dragged from his house and murdered a Protestant landowner, named Dembicki. Many Protestant libraries were pillaged ; amongst others, that of Wengierski, the historian of the church of Cracow, with a portion of whose books a well was filled ; while meat was roasted at a fire, the fuel of which was the writings of the fathers of the church.

A great number of Protestant churches in Little Poland, Red Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia also, were destroyed, during the reign of John Casimir, by the Cossacks, who made no distinction between Romanists and Protestants, and

often did not spare the followers of the Eastern church, to which they professed to belong. In short, this reign was so fatal to the Protestant cause of Poland, that since that time it may be considered as having been utterly destroyed. There remained, it is true, a great number of Protestants; their rights, moreover, were not abolished by any legal enactment, nay were confirmed; but these rights were only nominal, and their confirmation a solemn mockery. The influence of the clergy succeeded in exciting public opinion against them, by representing them as enemies of their country and adherents of the Swedish king, although the ranks of those who had espoused his interests contained at least twenty Romanists for one Protestant. The treaty of Oliva, concluded with Sweden under the guarantee of England, France, and Holland, confirmed in general terms the rights and privileges of each religious confession,* and consequently those of the anti-Romanist ones; but these stipulations did not put a stop to the vexations to which the Protestants had been exposed.

The provisions of the treaty of Oliva, in 1660, in favour of religious liberty do not insure its existence.

* The art. 2, sec. 2, of the treaty of Oliva, which guarantees without any distinction the rights of all the confessions in Poland, is as follows: "*Omnes cujuscunque status, conditionis et religionis fuerint, suis juribus, privilegiis, et consuetudinibus generalibus et specialibus tam in ecclesiasticis quam in civilibus profanisque, quibus ante bellum Sueticum gavisí sunt, in toto fruantur.*"

Thus, at the diet of 1661, an attempt was made to exclude, on account of his religion, Prince Boguslav Radziwill from the chamber of the nuncios, which, however, failed. At the diet of 1666, the nuncios of Mazovia (a province which, as we have already had several opportunities of mentioning, was always zealously attached to Romanism) made a motion that the confederation of 1573, which established religious liberty, should be abolished. The motion was rejected, but in 1668 a law was enacted which prohibited, under severe penalties, Roman Catholics from becoming Protestants.

State of Pro-
testantism in
Polish Prussia

The only part of Poland wherein Protestantism was not crushed by Romanist reaction was the province of Prussia, and chiefly its towns, in which Lutheranism continued to be professed by the great majority of the inhabitants. The town of Dantzic, which was sufficiently strong to oppose any violence offered to its privileges on the part of the kings of Poland, although firm in allegiance to that power, excluded the Jesuits in 1646. The Lutheran inhabitants of that town were no less jealous of other confessions than they were of the Romanists. Thus they would not suffer to spread their doctrines, or to settle in the town, some members of the Society of Friends or Quakers, who had arrived at Dantzic for missionary purposes. Many of their books were confiscated, and their chief supporters, William

Ormes, Pütel and Wundlich, were expelled in 1663. In 1673 and 1674, some members of the same society were imprisoned on account of their doctrines ; and in 1675 William Penn and George Fox addressed a letter to the council of the town, requesting freedom of religious exercise for their brethren. The diet of Poland, induced by the representations of the town of Dantzic, enacted a law excluding Quakers and Mennonists from the country ; no severity, however, was ever exercised against them ; and many, particularly of the latter, continued till the present time amongst the inhabitants of the country round Dantzic.

The reign of John Casimir is also remarkable for the severe laws which were enacted against the Socinians, by which that sect were expelled from Poland ; but we refer our readers to the chapter which we have exclusively devoted to that subject. We shall now give an account of the interior organization of the Protestant churches of Poland.

CHAPTER XIII.

INTERNAL STATE OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF
POLAND.

Causes which
had an influ-
ence on the
organization of
the Protestant
churches in
Poland.

THE manner in which the doctrines of the Reformation had been spread in Poland had great influence on the organization of the Protestant churches in that country. These doctrines being introduced, not by an enactment of the legal authority, but by means of the persuasions of individuals, could not contribute to the formation of a strongly organized establishment, as in the countries where Protestantism became dominant. The law of 1556, which permitted every noble to introduce into his estates such mode of Christian worship as he might please, without extending the same liberty to towns, was not calculated to give unity to the Protestant churches, which were rapidly increasing through the zeal of individuals unconnected by a general system of hierarchy. This want of unity was still more increased by the circumstance, that it was not one Protestant confession which had gained ground in Poland, but that three, *i. e.* the Helvetian,

Bohemian, and Augustan, began simultaneously to spread in several parts of that country. The necessity of a well-organized hierarchy was, however, soon felt, and numerous synods were convoked for that purpose. The daring speculations of the anti-Trinitarians rendered that necessity still more pressing ; and a great step towards the attainment of such a desideratum was made by the dogmatic union concluded between the Helvetian and Bohemian confessions, at the synod of Kosmin, in 1555.*

The synod of Vladislav, in 1557, and that of Xionz, in 1560, confirmed that union ; which, however, as we have seen, was only dogmatical, for both the confessions retained their separate hierarchies. We have already availed ourselves of opportunities to describe the union of Sandomir, and its confirmation by subsequent synods.

The organization of the Protestant churches in Poland was more or less borrowed from those countries where similar organizations were more fully developed. There is, necessarily, a difference between the organization of a church in a country where its followers constitute a minority, from that which is established as the dominant religion of the land. The Polish Protestant churches, therefore, had more analogy with those of France and Hungary than with the ecclesias-

* Vide vol. i. p. 342.

tical establishments of Holland, Scotland, the Swiss Protestant cantons, and the Protestant German principalities.

The Protestant hierarchies of Poland divide into three provinces, independent of each other.

Superintendent.

Neither the Helvetian nor the Augustan confession ever had an organized hierarchy for all the Polish dominions; but each of the three great political divisions of that country, Grand and Little Poland, and Lithuania, remained constantly independent in their ecclesiastical establishments, although they occasionally united at general synods—the great national convocations of the Polish Protestant churches. Each province was under the spiritual superintendent, or *senior primarius*, whose jurisdiction corresponded in some measure with that of a Roman Catholic archbishop. He was elected for life by the seniors, but his authority was very limited. He convoked the synods of his province, and presided at them; he ordained the seniors of the districts; executed the enactments of the synods; superintended the general affairs of his churches; inspected the libraries, schools, printing-offices, and similar institutions; but he had no judicial authority, and was subject to the synod that could judge, admonish, and depose him.

Seniors, conseniors, and ministers.

A senior was proposed to the churches of each district, having a consenior who acted as his assistant and substitute. The senior replaced sometimes the superintendent, and convoked synods of the districts over which he presided;

he directed the exterior affairs of his churches ; and possessed also a certain jurisdiction within his district, always *salvis juribus* of the temporal authorities. This the Protestants insisted on, being anxious to have nothing in common with the anti-Trinitarians, who recommended that no recourse should be had to the temporal authorities, in differences which might arise among the members of their congregations. The other ecclesiastical dignitaries were the minister, the deacon, and the lecturer ; but many offices which the Protestants in several parts of Europe have retained from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, were unknown to the Polish churches, which were anxious to introduce a regimen as similar as possible to that of the primitive Christians, and free from the innovations of Rome.

Besides the clerical senior each district had a civil one, *senior politicus*, who was elected at synods, exclusively by patrons composed of land-owners and other influential nobles, and without the participation of the other members of the congregation. The civil senior interfered not with the spiritual affairs of the church, which was entirely left to the ministers, who watched over the purity of doctrine. His duty was to watch over the conduct of the congregation as well as the ministers, whom he could in certain cases admonish and even suspend, reporting the case to the synod as the supreme

Civil seniors.

authority of the church. He visited the churches and schools, took care of their support and welfare, assisted at the synods of the districts, and acted as advocate before the authorities of the country in all the affairs of the church.

Synods.

The supreme government of the churches was vested in the synods. Each district had four local synods in a year : they were composed, not only of ministers, but of all the members of the congregation, closely imitating the assemblies of the primitive Christians, in which all the faithful deliberated on the necessities of the church, for which they were all ready to die. The matters relating to faith and doctrine were, however, very properly left exclusively to the ministers, as best qualified by their learning. There was once a year a provincial synod, where each district was represented by the clerical senior, the two conseniors, and four civil seniors, from the whole province. Ministers, although not delegated by the local synods, could take part in the deliberations of provincial synods, and were permitted to vote equally with others.

The hierarchy of Lithuania was organized in a less regular manner. There was neither a superintendent of the whole province, nor a perfect unity of government over its churches ; but the senior of Vilna usually presided at synods.

The general synods of all Poland were not convoked at fixed periods, but occasionally met

when called for by internal or external emergencies. We have seen the union of the three Protestant confessions effected by the general synod of Sandomir (1570), and the efforts which were subsequently made by similar assemblies to consolidate and extend that union. We have also seen, that since the first synod of Thorn (1595), the Lutherans refused to join the other confessions, so that such meetings were after that held in the same town in the year 1645, entirely discontinued.

This is the outline of the Protestant hierarchy in Poland, which laboured under two considerable defects : first, it formed in Poland three separate ecclesiastical departments, unconnected except by occasional general synods ; secondly, it had no permanent authority ready for action ; long intervals always took place between the meetings of the synod, and left unprotected the affairs of the Protestants whilst exposed to the unceasing persecution of the permanently established Roman Catholic authorities. To counteract their enemies, the Protestants should have established a kind of permanent committee, sitting in the capital of the country, unceasingly to watch over their interests. Unfortunately, nothing of the kind was done ; and this want of control and permanent authority may be considered as one of the principal causes of the speedy ruin of the Protestant cause in that country.

Defects of the organization of the Protestant hierarchy in Poland.

The organization of the synods of the Helvetian and Bohemian confessions was effected at the synod of Xionz, 1560. It was afterwards adopted by the churches of the Augustan confession, and confirmed by the general synods of Sandomir, 1570, and of Cracow, 1573.

The Helvetian confession is the most influential in Poland.

The most influential of the Protestant churches in Poland was that of the Helvetian confession, the doctrines of which seem to have been the most congenial to the national mind. It prevailed chiefly amongst the nobles of Little Poland and Lithuania, and such great families of Poland as had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation. The churches of Little Poland were divided into the following districts: Cracow, Sandomir, Zator and Oswiecim, Lublin and Chelm, Black Russia and Podolia, Belz, Volhynia, and Kiof.

Division of the reformed churches of Little Poland.

Districts were established as the number of congregations increased. Thus the district of Cracow was established in 1561, although there were some churches before that period; the district of Zator and Oswiecim in 1564; the district of Sandomir in 1562; the district of Lublin and Chelm in 1560; of Russia and Podolia in 1560, and of Belz in 1585, a date which proves that even under Stephen Battory the Protestant doctrines were on the advance in some parts of Poland. It is impossible to determine what was the number of reformed churches in Little Poland during their most brilliant period; it must have

been considerable, because all the nobles of the two important departments of Xionz and Proszowice have rejected Romanism, and so determinedly, that the river Sreniava, which waters those regions, was surnamed the Protestant River. The Jesuit Sawicki, in his "*Alloquia Osiecensis*," a work replete with the most virulent abuse of Protestants, and published under the assumed name of Cichocki,* maintains that the Protestants had taken from the Roman Catholics five thousand churches: this is evidently an exaggeration; but the celebrated Jesuit Skarga says positively that the Protestants had taken from the Roman Catholics two thousand churches, about six hundred in the diocese of Cracow, near five hundred in that of Vilna, and an enormous number, *numerus ingens*, in other provinces. By Protestants, Skarga meant Protestants of all denominations. According to Wengierski, there were in Little Poland, about 1576, one hundred and twenty-two churches of the Helvetian confession, almost exclusively composed of nobles who had neglected to convert their peasantry. This guilty neglect may be considered the principal cause of the decline of Protestantism in Poland—a decline so sad, that in 1718 this very province of Little Poland reckoned only eight reformed churches.

Probable number of those churches.

* Vide Bayle; article "Savicki."

Lithuania.

Grand Poland.

The Helvetian churches of Lithuania were divided into the following districts : Vilna, Nowogrodek, Zawileyka, Podlachia, Samogitia, and White Russia. Wengierski reckons, in 1650, in all Lithuania ninety-three Helvetian churches, which marks a great decline of the prevalence of that confession, because, as we have said, Skarga declared that five hundred Roman Catholic churches of the diocese of Vilna* were converted into Protestant ones. In the year 1718 there were only fifty-one ; since that time their number has decreased. In the province of Grand Poland the Helvetian churches flourished chiefly in the district of Cujavia ; they all merged in progress of time into those of the Bohemian brethren, with whose confession a perfect union was established in 1555. The churches of this confession were not in Grand Poland divided into districts, like the Helvetian of Little Poland and Lithuania, but composed one union, under the rule of one superintendent or chief senior, who was assisted in his duties by conseniors. The number was, during the time of their greatest prosperity, about eighty,† besides a few scattered

* The diocese of Vilna comprehended all Lithuania, except Samogitia.

† The province of Grand Poland was much less extensive than that of Little Poland, to which Red Russia, Podolia, and Volhynia belonged.

in other parts of the empire, but depending from the superintendent of the first-named province. Such were the churches of Dantzic, Elbing and Thorn, in Polish Prussia ; Nizczyce, in Mazovia ; Baranov, Beresteczko, Buczacz, Krylow, Lachy, Opole and Ryki, in Little Poland and Red Russia, with some few in Lithuania.

The Bohemian brethren were certainly the most zealous and the most exemplary amongst all the Protestants of Poland. The organization of their congregations and the strictly maintained discipline of their church reminded men of the primitive Christians. We shall, therefore, give our readers a sketch of them, extracted from Lasicki,* a learned Polish nobleman, and the author of several esteemed works, a member of the Helvetian confession, and one who had ample opportunities to observe the brethren, not in Poland only, but in Moravia and Bohemia also. After having given an historical sketch of their origin and progress, he says : " They are the

Sketch of the organization and discipline of the Bohemian brethren.

* Lasicki wrote in the sixteenth century. He composed a work on the Bohemian brethren, of which Jablonski saw the manuscript. Amos Comenius published only a chapter of that work, which relates to the interior organization of their congregations, entitled "*Johannis Lasitii, Nobilis Polonici, de Ecclesiastica Disciplinâ, Moribus, et Institutis Fratrum Bohemorum.*" Amsterdam, 1660. This edition is a reprint of that published at Leszno (1632). Lasicki also wrote works bearing the titles "*De Diis Samogitianorum ; de Religione Moscovitarum,*" &c.

living explication of the covenant ; there is no congregation which has better adapted the precepts of holy writ : the word of God is not only preached, but executed amongst them. The members of the union (a name they had adopted) call themselves brethren, imitating the primitive Christians, for Jesus Christ said, ' You are all brethren.' "

Every church or congregation was divided into three classes, called the beginners, the advanced, and the perfect. The first was composed of the children of the brethren and of adult Romanists, who, wishing to enter their communion, received catechumenic instruction when they had become thoroughly acquainted with the meaning of the Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and manifested an earnest desire to become members of the church of Christ ; they passed to the second class, the preceptors of which were admitted to the Lord's Table. That the members of this last class were expected to exert themselves by prayer and a godly life to grow in faith, hope, and charity. These having persevered for some time in the constant exercise of such virtues, and given proofs of advance in knowledge and faith by constant self-denial, in contempt of the world, and the constant observance of all Christian virtues, were admitted to the third class, as then only real members of the church.

It was from the members of the third class that each congregation chose six or eight elders (Presbyters), whose duty was to watch over the purity of manners of the congregation. They always acted in concert with the minister, for whose maintenance it was as well their duty to provide, as to assist him in promoting the spiritual welfare of the congregation. He and they laboured conjointly to maintain charity amongst the members of the congregation, and to prevent every kind of mischief. For that purpose they visited each termination of three months every house, and inquired into the conduct of all the members of it, all conscientiously labouring in their vocation. Their inquiries were as follows: "Whether all laboured conscientiously in his vocation; whether family service was performed every morning and evening; and whether those who were charged with public functions performed them faithfully?" They then made a report of their visitation to the minister; they made inquiries with tradesmen about their temporal affairs, in order to prevent the members of their congregation from contracting debts, from false or imprudent speculation, &c. They assisted the poor from money contributed for that purpose, according to their own convenience, by the faithful, and from the amount of general collections made on festive days, fasts, and days ordained for communion. There were, moreover, every three

months' particular collections, the proceeds being destined for the expenses of worship, amongst which were reckoned the support of poor ministers, and of those who were exiled for the sake of the gospel.

There were also similar elders chosen amongst women (*presbyteræ*), who watched with an equal care over the conduct of the female part of the congregation.

It was exacted from each father and mother of a family, that they should serve as patterns to their houses, by setting an example of a truly Christian life. It was their duty to have care that domestic service, the reading of the Scriptures, of chaunts, and of prayers, were regularly performed in their houses at morning, noon, and evening. On returning from sermons and public service, they were to converse with their children and household on what they might have heard at church, and the impressions they had received. The heads of families were to forbid all inmates to frequent public-houses or indulge in any kind of idleness, particularly gambling of any description. They were not to permit in their houses any kind of worldly amusement, such as games, dances, or such like, the use of garments conspicuous by their luxury or want of decency; and chiefly secret communications between persons of different sexes, and clandestine promises of marriage.

The member of one congregation was not suf-

ferred, without giving proper reasons, to pass under the direction of the minister of another. No minister could receive into his congregation the disciple of another confession without the production of the testimonials of the minister of that other. Therefore, all who transferred their residence, or made a temporary voyage, took testimonials from the minister of their congregation, and recommended themselves to his prayers.

This strict superintendence, however useful for the maintenance and promotion of an exemplary life, might easily have degenerated into spiritual despotism. Such, however, seems not to have been the case; at least we are unaware of any complaints of its having been abused. At the same time it is true, that the severe discipline by which the Bohemian brethren ruled their congregations, was strictly observed when they were exposed to cruel persecutions in Bohemia and Moravia, and when they were composed of the inferior classes of society. But when religious exercise obtained full liberty in Poland, and when their congregations reckoned amongst their members, not only many wealthy noblemen, but even several of the most powerful grandees of the country, such as the Ostrorogs, the Leszczynski, &c. this discipline was necessarily relaxed. However pious and zealous these noblemen may have been, they were obliged, by the social state of the country, to keep up the style of their equals. They could

not otherwise maintain their influence, or serve the interests of their church, without conforming to the mode of living, which was one of the most princely splendour. They had courts organized, as those of petty sovereigns ; regular household troops ; a crowd of retainers ; and they exercised an unbounded hospitality. It was, therefore, impossible that a discipline which demanded simplicity of manners befitting the primitive Christians, could be generally preserved under the circumstances above-mentioned. Comenius ascribes its decline to the union of the Bohemian church with the Helvetian in the year 1555, by which, as the same author says, the first died by merging into the second.

Each church or congregation had a pastor or minister, and under him deacons and acolytes. They were subject to bishops or seniors, who had conseniors or co-bishops to assist them. The pastor performed divine service, administered communion, baptism, and also the rites of marriage. At first, knowledge of languages and the "*literæ humaniores*" was not made the qualification for the pastors, but after the Reformation, young men destined for orders were sent to Protestant German universities, or to colleges afterwards established, to learn ancient languages and receive the education necessary for their calling. Many, however, were prepared for the ministry by pastors in whose houses they were domiciled.

The pastors were neither elected by their congregations, or presented by some lay patrons, but appointed by their bishops ; the Bohemian church being an episcopal one, claiming apostolical succession through the Valdensians of Italy. They exercised a great authority over their congregations, and were obliged to make, every six months, a report to their bishops on the spiritual and moral state of their flocks. A pastor was reprehended for minor faults by his bishop, but when the offence was of a serious nature it was brought before a synod, which judged and punished him according to the graveness of his offence, by reprimand, deposition from office, and even excommunication.

The pastors were supported by voluntary contributions, furnished by the congregation chiefly in kind. Their wants were exceedingly moderate, and many of them, when their ecclesiastical duties permitted them to do so, frequently joined in manual labour the acolytes or young men under their tuition. Although marriage was allowed, they generally preferred to remain single, particularly when exposed to persecution, because the care of a family would have been a great burden to them in such times ; when their church was free from oppression they married more frequently. They could not contract matrimony without the permission of their bishop, whose duty it was to watch that the wives chosen by the pastors should

do no discredit to the sacred calling of their husbands.

There were also many instances of women who from religious motives remained single in order to devote themselves to the education of young girls, and other similar services for their congregation.

The deacons were the assistants of the pastors, and candidates for their ministry. They generally visited, in company of an acolyte, the neighbouring villages on Sundays, where they preached according to the directions given them by their pastor. They baptised, instructed the catechumens, and performed all the religious ministrations which the pastor was unable himself to do. They employed the time free from their spiritual avocations in manual labour, relieving for the support of their clergy the labour of the congregation. Each pastor was obliged to educate in his house some young men for the service of the church, who, after having been advanced in the knowledge of the Scriptures, were received as acolytes, in which grade they were continued in theological studies until they were ordained as deacons.

The discipline which was observed in the house of a pastor educating deacons, acolytes and pupils, was very strict and regular. Every morning all the inmates rose at the sound of a bell, and after washing and dressing, each separately, every one again said prayers on his bended

knees, and then read some chapters of the Scriptures. About an hour afterwards they assembled together; at a new signal a psalm or canticle was sung, and the pastor, or some other person, read a part of the Scriptures, to which he added suitable reflections. This terminated, every one went to his studies till noon,—which was the hour of repast. The afternoon, as a time less appropriated to studies, was generally devoted to mechanical occupation, and interrupted at two by a prayer in common. These exercises were followed by all the acolytes, except those whose duty it was to instruct the children of the inhabitants. After the evening repast they had some musical exercise, as singing psalms. During the repast the conversation turned always towards religious subjects, and sometimes a lecture on cognate topics was delivered during its continuation. All retired at a fixed time, no one was permitted to be out of his bed during the night, still less to go out of the house, which was shut at the appointed hour by the watchman *custos*, whose duty it was to deliver the key to the pastor, or to the person charged with the duties of pastor for the following day.

That each of them might accustom himself to every kind of service, and learn how to earn the bread which he was to eat, the details of house-keeping were managed by the deacons, acolytes, and pupils. The younger pupils were employed

in cleansing, sweeping, and other menial services; whilst the elder took care of the garden, larder, library, clocks, &c. They changed their duties by turns, that each might be enabled to perform every one of them.

They were forbidden to leave their house without permission; to make purchases; to send letters of importance; to borrow or lend; and to enter, without the permission of the pastor, into any kind of obligation. The pastors themselves could not leave their residence without permission of the bishop.

The bishops, or seniors, who superintended a certain number of churches, were elected by the ministers by a majority of votes. There were at that time (sixteenth century) two for Bohemia; two for Moravia; and one, *sometimes* two, for Poland. They were elected for life, and could only be deposed from office for misconduct, of which, however, not a single instance ever happened. Their duty was to ordain clergymen; to appoint pastors; to transfer them from one cure to another, when circumstances might require it; to superintend the churches of their diocese, watching that the doctrines taught and the discipline observed were in accordance with the word of God. For that purpose they made a yearly visitation of churches, and had a list of the names of the members of all congregations belonging to their dioceses. One of the bishops had the

title of president, and the duties of his office were to convoke a meeting of his colleagues whenever he might think it necessary, and to preside as well therein as at the general synods of the confession. Another bishop had the title of secretary, his duty being to keep a register of all the ecclesiastical transactions of his confession, and of the writings affecting their faith composed by its members. Whenever a publication directed against his confession appeared, it was his especial business to inform the ecclesiastical counsel of it, and when it was deemed necessary to compose a reply thereunto, to prepare and submit the same before publication for the approval of the council. Thus all the religious writings published by the Bohemian brethren were previously submitted to the censure of their ecclesiastical council, and usually appeared in the name of their whole church. The brethren, however, rarely answered the attacks of their enemies, unless forced to defend themselves, which occurred chiefly in public before the authorities of the land.

Each bishop had two or three co-bishops or conseniors, who assisted at the ecclesiastical council, under the obligation of keeping secret all its deliberations. They assisted the bishops in their various functions, and sometimes replaced them. Their particular duty was to examine acolytes, deacons, and ministers, previously to their ordination, and to report thereon to the bishops.

In this church also were held general and particular synods, composed of ecclesiastical persons of every degree, from the bishop to the acolyte, and of some influential laymen, which deliberated on the general affairs and interests of the brethren. These meetings took place alternately in Bohemia and Moravia, the Polish congregations, on account of the distance, being represented by a few delegates ; whilst those of Bohemia and Moravia were represented in a similar manner at the synods held in Poland. The congregations of Poland, however, since their union with the Helvetian churches, held general synods in common with them. Particular synods also, similarly constructed to the general synods, were from time to time convoked to deliberate about the local affairs of their congregations. The resolutions of such meetings were, however, communicated to all the bishops who might be absent. It was at such synods that ministers, deacons, and acolytes were ordained. The first-named two classes received their ordination from the bishop by the imposition of hands, a ceremony which was dispensed with in the case of acolytes. The co-bishops or conseniors were consecrated by the bishops, and the bishops by an assembly of their colleagues.

Sermons were considered as the principal part of divine service, and were delivered, not only on Sundays and solemn days, but also at every

burial, marriage, and whenever there was a suitable opportunity for it. There were four services each Sunday—two in the morning and two in the afternoon. At the first were expounded some chosen texts of the prophets; at the second, which was the principal one, passages from the gospels; at the third, parts of epistles; and during the fourth, in the evening, chapters of the Bible were read, accompanied with but a few appropriate remarks. In addition to this the afternoons were, during summer, employed in instructing youths in the catechism. The sermons were, however, short, and never permitted to exceed an hour at a time.

Some of the brethren administered baptism to adults only, but the majority of them baptized infants. Communion was received four times a year. The observance of the Sabbath was very strict, the brethren not considering it a part of the ceremonial law, but one of those ordinances which, being contained in the decalogue, is binding for ever on the church. They had four days of fast in the year, during which they abstained rigidly from food, at least till the evening, and devoted themselves to religious exercises. In addition to the regular there were also extraordinary fasts, in cases of public calamities, or of the affliction of particular churches, and even of private individuals; as, for instance, for the conver-

sion of a hardened sinner excluded from the church, &c.

The discipline of the Bohemian churches was strictly enforced without any regard of persons, and each of its members, whether bishop or acolyte, great nobleman or poor peasant, was equally subject to its rules. It had three degrees of correction : first, private admonition ; second, public reprehension ; and, third, exclusion from the church. All the members of the congregations were obliged mutually to reprove the faults and omissions of one another, but with the charity becoming Christians. When their exhortations failed it was reported to the pastor, or to one of the elders, who tried by means of persuasion to amend the ways of the erring member. Did his persuasions remain fruitless, the sinner was reproved by an assembly of the elders, and excluded from communion until he should repent and amend. If the offence which he had given was public, he was reprimanded before the whole congregation. Did the sinner, disregarding all admonitions, continue in his wickedness, he was excommunicated with the following solemnities : the sinner was called before the whole congregation ; his sins, as well as the ordinances of God against them, were represented to him ; after which it was declared to him that his sin was bound, that he was excluded from the church,

and delivered to Satan. All the congregation confirmed that sentence by a solemn amen, pronounced with many tears and sighs. The excommunicated person was conducted out of the church, and the congregation prayed that God might not let that stray sheep perish, but bring it soon back into the sheepfold of his Son. Hope of return to the communion of the faithful was never withheld from any sinner ; on the contrary, the excommunicated persons, who were always permitted to hear the sermons at the door of the church, were encouraged to deserve re-admission by sincere repentance, and the truly penitent and amended sinner was admitted with manifestations of great joy and particular charity towards him.

Such was the organization of the Bohemian brethren, an important branch of the Protestants of Poland, which, however, was modified in many respects after their union with the Helvetian church of that country, particularly by the circumstances which we have mentioned above.*

The most efficient means by which the cause of the Reformation was everywhere promoted, and the most powerful weapon with which it combated Rome, was the spreading of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongues. It was by the translation of the Holy Writ into those languages that

Account of the
Protestant ver-
sions in Po-
land.

* Vide page 305.

the groundwork of the Reformation was laid in every country, and the Polish Protestants were not remiss in the execution of this pious labour.

There are no traces of a Polish version of the Scriptures previously to the fourteenth century. It can, however, scarcely be doubted that the Slavonian version of Methodius and Cyrill was known and used amongst those churches which had preserved the national mode of worship.* The Slavonian tongue, in which that version had been effected, and which is considered as the mother-tongue of all the Slavonian dialects, was at that time much better understood by all the branches of the Slavonian race, the Poles, Bohemians, Russians, &c., as their respective idioms had not yet been formed into separate and definite languages. Be it as it may, all that we know is, that the Scriptures are mentioned in the Polish history for the first time towards the year 1370, when King Casimir the Great bequeathed a copy of it to the church of Gniezno. It is not, however, mentioned whether that copy was in Latin or Polish; we incline towards the former supposition, because the Scriptures were translated into Polish purposely for the use of Queen Hedvige, in 1399.† There can be no doubt that the Bohemian versions made by the Hussites circulated in Poland, as was the case with seve-

* Vide vol. i. page 18.

† Vide vol. i. page 20.

ral books published by them,* although that circulation, at a time previous to the invention of the art of printing, was necessarily limited.

The honour of having published the first Polish version of the Scriptures belongs to the followers of the confession of Augsburg. We have already mentioned that Albert, duke of Prussia, having become a convert to the doctrines of the Reformation, endeavoured by all means to spread them in his own states and in Poland.† For that purpose he promoted the publication of the Scriptures and other sacred works in the vernacular languages of those countries, and called to Königsberg several learned Poles who had embraced the same doctrines. Amongst them was John Seklucyan, formerly a Roman Catholic preacher at Poznania. Supported by the prince, Seklucyan published, in 1551, a translation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and in the course of the same year the four Evangelists. The work was dedicated to the prince, and a Treatise on Polish Orthography was prefixed to it. In 1552 the whole New Testament was published by the same author at the same place, and dedicated to Sigismund Augustus. The version was made not from the Latin Vulgata, but from the Greek original. Besides this New Testament, the Lutherans had never any Polish ver-

* Vide vol. i. page 65. † Vide vol. i. page 158, note.

sion of the Scriptures, but made use of that of the reformed churches. Although Seklucyan has undoubtedly the merit of having first published the Word of God in Polish, and of having thereby contributed to the improvement of the national language by the grammatical rules which he added to his version, its circulation seems to have been very limited, for it is only known by the account which some bibliographers have given of it. The first Protestant Bible in Poland, and that also which exercised great influence on that country, is certainly the one known under the name of "the Bible of Brest." This version was effected under the auspices of Prince Nicholas Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, grand general and chancellor of Lithuania, whose services in the cause of the Reformation in Poland we have had ample opportunities of mentioning, by an association of eminent scholars and divines, foreigners as well as Poles. The principal of them were the celebrated John Laski, Stancari, Ochinus, Zacius, Orsacius, Lismanini, Statorius, Blandrata, Alciati, Martinus Krowicki, Gregorius Pauli of Brzeziny, Vitrelinus, Trzecieski, James of Lublin, &c. The Polish style, which is excellent, was probably superintended by Trzecieski, Krowicki, and James of Lublin, all known for their excellence and purity of diction. It was made at a time when the anti-Trinitarian opinions, which disturbed the reformed church of Poland,

had not yet ripened into an open schism. Unfortunately, many of the translators engaged in that great work afterwards embraced those opinions, and even became celebrated as leaders of the Socinian sect. The translators performed their task at Pinczow, a town belonging to Olesnicki, but they were supported by Radziwill, at whose expense it was printed at Brest, and published in 1563.* It is, therefore, generally known under the names of "the Bible of Brest," "of Pinczow," or "of Radziwill;" and although it was adopted by all the Protestant churches, and particularly by those of Lithuania, yet several authors consider that version as a Socinian one. Some of its translators, as we have said, professed the doctrines of that sect; and Ringeltaube, in his work on the Polish Bibles, demonstrates that it is tainted with Socinian errors.† They must, however, be of a very subtle nature if the most orthodox reformed churches continued to make use of that Bible without any scruple. This edition, however, became very rare, as the son of prince Radziwill having turned Romanist purchased this Bible, as well as many other Protestant books, wherever he could get them, and having collected in that way a large number for

* Vide vol. i. page 309.

† *Ringeltaube Nachricht von den Polnischen Bibeln.* 8vo. Dantzic, 1744, page 84, and following.

the sum of five thousand ducats, burnt them publicly in the market-place of Vilna ; an *auto da fé* which several Romanist authors extol as a most Christian and pious work. Perhaps on account of the scarcity of copies consequent on the above-mentioned *auto da fé*, perhaps because the necessity of some corrections in its text was felt, the reformed churches decided at the synod of Ozarow (1600) on publishing a new edition of the Scriptures, entrusting it to Martinus Janicki, a learned and pious minister of that confession, who had completed a new version of the whole Bible from the original tongues. The synod of Belz (1603) repeated that decision, and that of Baranow (1604) provided the necessary funds for the impression, and commissioned Symon Theophilus Turnowski, superintendent of the Bohemian brethren in Grand Poland, and Daniel Mikolajewski, Helvetian minister of Radziejow, to examine for that purpose the version of Janicki. This project, however, was never executed, from causes which we are unable to explain ; and even the manuscript of Janicki seems to have been lost.

In 1606 a New Testament appeared at Dantzic, by an unknown editor, who states in his preface that it was the reprint of the New Testament of the Bible of Brest, with several corrections. This preface shows, according to the evidence of Ringeltaube, the profound learning of the editor, and his great acquaintance with the theological

had dared to publish it, and ordering, under the writings of other confessions. It was reprinted (1632) at Königsberg, with alterations of some expressions, and several additions taken from the Latin version of Beza. In 1632 the whole Scriptures were published at Dantzic. This edition, according to the dedication by the Protestant clergy of Grand Poland to prince Christopher Radziwill, as well as that which the prince made of it to king Vladislav the Fourth,* was the reprint only of the Bible of Brest (1563), but in comparing the two, great differences will be found. The last is particularly remarkable, from the circumstance that the purity and correctness of the Polish style are frequently sacrificed in order to approach nearer to the original text. Ringeltaube considers Paul Paliurus, a native of Moravia, as editor, or rather translator, of that Bible, and as his assistants, Mikolajewski and John Turnowski. Mr. Lukaszewicz, however, has clearly proved that Paliurus, who did not even possess a sufficient knowledge of the Polish language, did no more than promote the publication by his exertions, and that it was remoulded from that of Brest by the two last-named individuals, both well known by their literary productions. This edition became the particular object of Romanist hatred, and the primate Wenzky published a pastoral letter, fulminating invectives against the heretics who

* Vide page 220.

penalty of excommunication, that every Roman Catholic should, in case he got a copy of it, deposit it instantly with the nearest clergyman. To this pastoral letter was added a prohibition, addressed to all the booksellers and printers, to sell or reprint this Bible, the penalty of disobedience being excommunication. This letter concludes with the following remarkable words: "*Cæterum hoc edicto nostro prohibitorio Bibliorum Gedanensium, non intendimus, pacem inter dissidentes de religione turbare, cum aliud sit dissidium religionis publicæ et tolerandorum scandalorum causa tolerare et permittere, aliud vero dissidentes, ne in nostram potestatem ecclesiasticam, se ingerant prohibere.*" Thus protesting his intention to respect the fundamental law of the country, which inculcated religious peace, he declares as an encroachment on the rights of his church the publication of Scriptures without his authority! Pope Urban the Eighth expressed his gratitude to the primate for the zeal which he had shown on that occasion, by a letter dated 29th July 1634. The primate's pastoral was not without effect, and several thousand copies were destroyed in consequence of his injunction.*

* Besides the unpardonable crime of being a heretical version, that Bible was also attacked by the Romanists on account of a printer's error, committed in the 1st verse, chapter 4th, of St. Matthew, where the word "*do*" (to) was put instead of "*od*" (of). A copy of that rare edition is found in the library of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex.

This edition was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1661, without any variation, and in 1726 at Halle; its New Testament at Leipzig in 1727, the whole at Königsberg in 1738, and afterwards in several places in Germany, and it is now in use among all the Protestants of Poland.*

We shall describe the anti-Trinitarian versions of the Scriptures† in the next chapter, which

* The author of the present work was interrupted by the events of 1830 in many literary enterprizes: among them was a stereotype Polish Bible, after the Dantzic edition. The process used was that of Lord Stanhope, which the author introduced into his native land. The Psalms of David, and many other works, had already been published by that process.

† The publication of Protestant Bibles in Poland greatly stimulated the Roman Catholics to publish their own versions. Thus, in 1556, a New Testament was published at Cracow, by Szarfenberger, a celebrated printer, and, in 1561, the whole Bible. Szarfenberger says, in his dedication to the king, that its translator is unknown, but that he had employed a learned clergyman, John Leopolita, to revise it. This circumstance gave to that Bible the appellation of that of Leopolita. Czepius, a learned Prussian, believes that this version was the work of a Protestant divine, and that it was intrusted to the revision of Leopolita in order to adapt it to the Roman Catholic tenets. He also proves that it was not made from the Latin Vulgata, but from a Bohemian version. It went through three editions, the last in 1577. The learned Jesuit, Justus Rabe, a native of Cracow, also made a version of the whole Bible, published at Cracow in 1617. But the Roman Catholic version approved by the papal authority is that of the Jesuit Wuiek, published at Cracow in 1599, and reprinted many times afterwards.

Protestant
schools in
Poland.

will contain an account of those sectarians, and now notice the principal Protestant schools.

We have seen that several general synods,* and chiefly those of Piotrkow (1578) and of Thorn (1595), acknowledged the necessity of establishing a general high school for all the Protestant confessions, and resolved to put such a plan into execution by means of a fixed tax on all the land-owners belonging to them. This resolution, which would have been exceedingly beneficial to the Protestant cause in Poland, was unfortunately never carried into effect, probably from the adverse circumstances that so rapidly diminished the Protestant congregations during the reign of Sigismund the Third. The university of Königsberg might be considered in some respects as the Protestant high school of Poland. It soon ceased, however, to exercise over that country the same influence which it had during the life-time of its founder, duke Albert of Prussia, as his successors were not actuated by the same motives, either political or religious, which had guided the conduct of that prince.

The Polish Protestants were consequently obliged to repair to the foreign universities, and chiefly to those of Germany or Holland, in order to receive that theological instruction which was necessary to qualify them for the office of minis-

* Vide page 158.

ters of the Gospel. They received, however, an education preparatory for those higher studies in the schools that existed in several parts of Poland, and of which we shall give our readers such account as we were able to collect from different sources.

The most remarkable of those schools, which also Leszno. flourishes at the present day, is undoubtedly that of Leszno, or Lissa. This town was the property of the family of Leszczynski, to whose ancestor, a Bohemian grandee, it had been granted, according to the Chronicles of Mieczyslav, the first duke of Poland, as early as 965, *i. e.* at his conversion to the Christian religion. Whether this statement is correct or not, it is well known that the family of Leszczynski was one of the noblest and most influential in Poland, and that after having occupied during centuries the first dignities of the state, it gave a monarch to the country in the person of Stanislav Leszczynski, who, though twice elected king of Poland, could never maintain himself in possession of his crown. Afterwards, however, he became the sovereign of Lorraine, and proved by the virtues and noble qualities which he displayed, how unfortunate it was for Poland to have been deprived of such a monarch. It is also well known that his only daughter, Maria, was the queen of Louis the Fifteenth. We have had an opportunity of mentioning that a member of that illustrious family, Venceslav, a Leszno,

or Leszczynski, strenuously defended Huss at the council of Constance,* and also the bold manifestation against Rome made by Raphael Leszczynski at the diet of 1552. The same Raphael Leszczynski having embraced Protestantism, gave the Roman Catholic church of Leszno to the Bohemian brethren (1550), and established there a school in 1555, which was much increased by his descendant, Andreas Leszczynski, palatine of Brest, in Cuiavia, in 1604. It was, however, only a kind of primary school, but when Leszno rose to a high degree of prosperity by the immigration of many thousands of industrious Protestants, who fled for refuge to Grand Poland from Bohemia and Moravia, being driven from their native land by the persecution which followed after the battle of Weiszenberg, lost by the palatine of the Rhine, who was elected king of Bohemia in 1620, its owner, Raphael Leszczynski, palatine of Belsk, established (1628) a higher school for the Helveto-Bohemian confession, and endowed it with great munificence. Besides the ancient languages, there were taught in that school universal history, geography, mathematics, the Polish and German languages, natural history, and other sciences. It was conducted by men of the most eminent learning, as Rybinski, Comenius, Andreas Wengierski, the great natu-

* Vol. i. p. 64.

ralist Johnstone, and several others. It was frequented by Protestant youths, not only from every part of Poland, but also from Prussia, Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia, and even Hungary; and justified its celebrity by an excellent organization and a continuous improvement of the method of instruction. At a time when the academy of Cracow and the Jesuits' colleges in Poland, and the Roman Catholic as well as Protestant schools of Germany, kept to the old methods of instruction, calculated only to waste the precious time of the pupils, the professors of Leszno dared to open a new road on that important field. Comenius,* who acquired celebrity

* John Amos Comenius was born, in 1592, at Komna, a place in Moravia, whence he derived his name. After having studied in several German universities, he took orders, and was appointed, in 1618, pastor of Fulnek, a town in his native land, and master of a school there. He had early conceived a design to introduce a new method of teaching languages; he published some essays for this purpose, and prepared other pieces on the same subject, which were destroyed in 1621, when the Spaniards plundered his library after having taken the city. The outlawry of all the Protestant ministers of Bohemia and Moravia by the edict of 1624, compelled Comenius with many others to seek refuge in the mountains of Bohemia, and finally to retire to Poland. He settled at Leszno, where, having become professor of Latin and pastor of the Bohemian church, he published, in 1631, his "*Janua Linguarum Reserata*," or "The Gate of Languages unlocked," which rapidly gained for its author a prodigious reputation; and Bayle is right in saying, that had
Comenius

over all Europe by his efforts to improve the methods of education, composed for the school

Comenius published only this book he would have immortalized himself, for it was translated and published during his life-time not only in twelve European languages, *viz.* Latin, Greek, Bohemian, Polish, German, Swedish, Dutch, English, French, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, but also in several Asiatic, as Arabic, Turkish, Persian. We may add, that it ought likewise to establish the reputation of Leszno, where it was published for the first time, being composed for the use of its school. The reputation which Comenius had gained, induced the government of Sweden to offer him (1638) a commission for regulating anew the schools of that kingdom. Comenius preferred, however, his residence at Leszno, but promised to assist with his advice those whom the Swedish government should entrust with that commission. He then translated into Latin a work concerning a new method of instructing youths, which he had written in Bohemian, and which was published in 1639 at London, under the title "*Pansophiæ Prodrômus*," of which an English translation, by Jer. Collier, was published in 1651, entitled "The Forerunner of Universal Learning." This increased his reputation so much, that the parliament of England invited him to assist in the reformation of the schools of that country. He arrived at London in September 1641, but the civil war which broke out in Great Britain prevented the parliament from making use of his talents in the projected reform. He therefore went to Sweden, whither he had been invited by Lewis de Geer, a person of great merit and influence. He arrived there in August 1642, and had several conferences with the chancellor, Oxenstierna, at which it was determined that he should settle at Elbing, in Polish Prussia, and compose there a work on his new system of teaching. At the same time, a considerable stipend was settled upon him by Lewis de Geer, so that being delivered from the drudgery of teaching

of Leszno his celebrated work, "*Janua Linguarum Reserata*," which greatly facilitated the acquirement of foreign languages.

teaching a school, he could devote his whole time for the invention of general methods of facilitating the instruction of youths. Having spent at Elbing four years in this study, he returned to Sweden to show his composition, which was examined by three commissioners, and declared worthy of publication when complete. He spent two years more at Elbing, and then returned to Leszno. In 1650 he made a journey to the court of Sigismund Ragoczy, prince of Transylvania, where his advice was desired for reforming schools. He gave this prince instructions for regulating the college of Saros-Patak, pursuant to the maxims of the "*Pansophiæ Prodomus*." After a residence of four years he returned to Leszno, and superintended its schools till the destruction of that city, which we have described under the reign of John Casimir. He fled to Silesia, and after having wandered in some parts of Germany, settled finally at Amsterdam, where he died (1671) in very easy circumstances. Besides the works already mentioned, Comenius wrote "*Synopsis Physicæ ad lumen Divinum Reformatæ*," Amst. 1641, published in English, 1652. "*Porta sapientiæ Reserata, seu nova et Compendiosa Methodus omnes Artes ac scientias addiscendi*," Oxon, 1637; and a great number of other works. His deep learning could not defend him from superstition, and he became a firm believer in all those prophecies which circulated in the seventeenth century amongst the Protestants of Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia, about the approach of the millennium, revolutions, the ruin of anti-christ (i. e. the pope), &c., and which were the result of imaginative minds, exalted by severe persecution. He collected and published at Amsterdam, (1657,) in a work entitled "*Lux in Tenebris*," the Visions of Drabitus, a Moravian; Kotterus, a Silesian, and Christina Ponia

Johnstone,* a Pole of Scotch descent, composed for the same school a manual of universal history, which he published at Leszno in 1639.

Poniatowski, (a) a Polish lady, who predicted the speedy overthrow of Romanism, and the destruction of Austria by Sweden, Cromwell and Ragoczy. This work injured him considerably in the eyes of many of his contemporaries. It was strongly attacked by a Protestant Pole, Nicolas Arnoldus, professor of divinity at the University of Franecker, who not only wrote against it as soon as it appeared, but answered also an apology for the same put forward by Comenius.

* John Johnstone was born in 1603, at Szamotuly or Sambter, in Great Poland, from Simon Johnstone, descended from the
Johnstones

(a) Christina Poniatowski was daughter of Julian Poniatowski, a Polish noble, who from a Roman Catholic monk had become a Protestant minister. He was rector of the school of Boleslavice in 1617, and is author of several treatises on divinity, metaphysics, and astronomy. He became known particularly by his mystical dissertation, entitled "*An Angeli et Caelestes perfecte Deum in sua essentia qualis est cognoscant ?*" Having become a widower, he retired to Bohemia, where he entrusted his daughter, aged 16, to the care of the baroness Engelking von Zelking, a lady of high rank. She entered the house of that lady in October 1627, and a month afterwards she had several extasies, during which she saw very extraordinary things, which alluded to her church and its future restoration, by the destruction of its enemies and persecutors. She had similar visions from time to time during the years 1628 and 1629, and the last of them on the 21st January of that year, after which she appeared for some time dead ; but having recovered, she was no longer troubled with them. In 1632 she married Daniel Werther, who had been tutor of Frederic Henry, son of Frederic king of Bohemia, and brother of the celebrated prince Rupert. She died in 1644.

The most prosperous period of Leszno was the reign of Vladislav the Fourth, during which it

Johnstones of Craighourne in Scotland. He was sent to the school of Ostrorog in 1611, and passed to that of Beuten on the Oder in 1614. After the death of his father in 1617, he returned to his native place, which he left again in 1619, to continue his studies at Thorn. In 1622, he went to England and thence to Scotland, where he continued to study till 1625, when he returned to the place of his birth. The same year he undertook to superintend the education of two sons of Count Kurzbach, and remained with them at Leszno till 1628, when he went to Germany, and after having resided at several of its universities, arrived in 1629 at Franecker, where he continued for a year studying medicine. He prosecuted the same studies at Leyden, London, and Cambridge. Having returned to Poland, he left it again as tutor of two young noblemen, Boguslav Leszczynski and Vladislav Dorohostayski, with whom he revisited Leyden and Cambridge, where he received the diploma of a doctor of medicine, after which he continued to travel with his pupils through other parts of Europe, and returned to Poland towards the end of 1636. The next year he married, but having soon afterwards lost his wife, he married again, (1638), and from that marriage had several children. In 1642, the universities of Frankfort on the Oder and of Leyden offered him chairs of medicine, but he declined their offers, preferring to reside in his country, where he lived at Leszno, as physician to his former pupil, Boguslav Leszczynski. The wars which agitated Poland, 1655-60, compelled him to leave it, and he retired to Silesia, where, having purchased an estate called Siebendorf, near Liegnitz, he remained till his death (1675). His body was transferred to Leszno and buried there. His principal works are: "*Thaumatographia Naturalis in 10 Classes Divisa*," &c. Amsterdami, 1632, 1633, 1661, and 1666; "*Historia Universalis Civilis et Ecclesiastica*," &c. ab orbe condito ad 1633, Leyden, 1663

acquired a European reputation. There was also a printing-office, from which issued many important works in Polish, Bohemian, German, and Latin, which was also provided with Greek and Hebrew types. The literary establishments of

1633 and 1638, Amst. 1644, Francfort, 1672, continued till that year; "*De Naturæ Constantia*," &c. Amst. 1632, transl. in Engl. and publ. at London 1657, under the title "The History of the Constancy of Nature;" wherein, by comparing the latter ages with the former, it is maintained that the world does not universally decay, &c. "*Systema Dendrologicum Leszno*," 1646. "*Hist. Naturalis de Piscibus et cetis*," Francfort, 1646. "*De Quadrupedibus, avibus, Piscibus, Insectis et Serpentibus*," &c. Francforti, 1650, 2 vols. This edition is much prized on account of the plates, executed by the celebrated Merian. "*Idea Medicinæ Universæ Practicæ*," &c. Ams. 1652, 1664, Leyden, 1655. "*Hist. Naturalis de Insectis*," Francf. 1653. "*Hist. Nat. Animalium cum Figuris*," 1657, 2 vols. fol. transl. into Engl. and publ. at Amsterdam, 1678, under the title "A Description of Four-footed Beasts," illustrated by copper-plates, &c. "*Notitia Regni Vegetalis*," Lipsiæ, 1661. "*Dendrografia seu Hist. Nat. de Arboribus et fructibus. Syntagma Medicinæ*," Jenæ, 1674. "*Idea Hygieines, Recensita*," Jenæ, 1674. "*Notitia Regni Mineralis*," Lipsiæ, 1661. "*De Festis Hebræorum et Græcorum*," Breslaw, 1660. "*Polyhistor seu Rerum ab ortu Universi ad nostra usque tempora per Asiam, Europam, Africam et Americam in Sacris et Profanis gestarum succincta et Methodica enarratio*," Jenæ, 1660, and a continuation of the same work, *ibid.* vide "*Niceron Mémoires*," vl. xli, Nouveau Supplement, à Morcri, vol. ii.

The number of books which we have enumerated here, and which were much esteemed in their time, shews the extraordinary merit of our countryman, who was not surpassed, if even equalled in learning, by any of his contemporaries.

Leszno were involved in the lamentable destruction of that town in 1656 (which we have described), and during some years there was no school. The Protestants of Grand Poland, however, assembled at the synod of Parcice, resolved to rebuild it by subscription. Although this resolution was now much more difficult to be put into execution, as the family of Leszczynski had passed to Romanism, the Protestant landowners of Grand Poland and the inhabitants of Leszno succeeded by their united efforts in reopening a school in 1663, to which was annexed a clerical seminary. Yet was the state of this school very inferior to that which it had been previously to the disaster of 1656, because a great part of its property was lost, and the Protestant nobles, as well as the inhabitants of the town, were generally ruined by war and persecution. The town of Leszno, however, gradually recovered its prosperity by the patronage of the family of Leszczynski, who, although they had passed to Romanism, were far from persecuting the Protestant inhabitants on their possessions, but, on the contrary, used all their influence to shelter them from the oppression of the clergy. The prosperity of the town, moreover, had naturally a beneficial influence on the state of the school. During the commotions produced in Poland by Charles the Twelfth, the inhabitants of Leszno warmly espoused the interest of their hereditary lord

king Stanislav Leszczynski, which drew on them the resentment of his adversary king Augustus, elector of Saxony, and his allies the Russians, who burnt the town in 1707. Two years afterwards it was visited by the plague, which did great ravages amongst the inhabitants. A few years afterwards the town, as well as the Protestant church and school, were rebuilt, and the school was re-opened after many difficulties; when the inhabitants of Leszno resolved, at a synod held in that town on the 18th April 1717, to maintain at their expense four teachers, on condition that the Protestant nobles of Grand Poland should support a fifth. In 1738 Leszno was acquired by the family of the princes Sulkowski, who proved to it as kind and useful patrons as the Leszczynskis had been. The school gradually improved under the superintendence of several rectors of the family of Cassius; but this institution, which is now the best of all Poland, and not inferior to any in Germany, owes its present state of prosperity to the fostering care of the late owner of Leszno, prince Anthony Sulkowski;* who, after a brilliant military career

* We hope that a short notice of the life of that distinguished individual, to whose exertions the principal Protestant literary establishments in Poland owe so much, will not be here out of place; and the author seizes this opportunity to pay a tribute of gratitude to the memory of his lamented friend, whose sympathies have cheered the most trying moments of his
exile,

in the service of his country, exchanged it for the retirement of a private life in the midst of his

exile, and whose loss will ever be deeply felt by him. Prince Anthony Sulkowski, son of prince Sulkowski, palatine of Kalisz, was born at Leszno in 1785. After having received an excellent education, and completed his studies at the University of Göttingen, he was on his travels when the success of the French emperor in Prussia raised in the Polish nation a hope of recovering their independence. Sulkowski hastened from Paris, where at that time he was, and having returned to his native land towards the end of 1806, was immediately nominated by Napoleon colonel of the first Polish regiment which was to be raised. The enthusiasm for the national cause was so great that it enabled Sulkowski to perform his task with such a rapidity, that on the 23d of February of the following year (1807) he was enabled to carry the fortified town of Dirshau at the head of his newly levied regiment. He took an active part in the remainder of the campaign, which ended in the peace of Tilsit, by which a part of Poland was restored under the name of the grand duchy of Warsaw. In 1808, when several detachments of the newly created Polish army were ordered to Spain, the regiment of prince Sulkowski was comprised amongst them; and although he had been married but a few months to Eve Kicki, a lady of great beauty and accomplishments, to whom he had been attached from his early youth, and could easily have procured a dispensation from that arduous service, he thought it his duty to join his companions in arms. Arrived in the Peninsula, he distinguished himself at the battles of Almonacid and Occanna, as well as by his defence of Toledo. When Malaga was taken by the French, prince Sulkowski was made governor of that town, and notwithstanding the universal hatred which animated the Spaniards against the invading armies, he succeeded by his conduct in gaining the affection of its inhabitants. He was promoted to the rank of major-general,

family, leaving it only when it was required by the common interests of his countrymen. Yet

ral, and returned to his country in 1810, where he remained till the memorable campaign of 1812, in which he commanded a brigade of cavalry, took a part in the principal battles, and was severely wounded during the retreat. Having recovered from his wounds, and been promoted to the rank of a lieutenant-general, he joined the Polish army under prince Poniatowski, and fought at the battle of Leipsic at the head of a division of cavalry. It was after this battle that he was thrown into the most difficult circumstances, in which his strict honour and integrity were shown to great advantage. A few days after the death of prince Poniatowski he was nominated by the emperor Napoleon chief commander of the remnant of the Polish corps, which, notwithstanding its great losses, had still preserved all its standards and artillery. This command was given to Sulkowski at the general request of his countrymen, notwithstanding his youth (he was then twenty-nine years) and the presence of several older generals. The Polish troops, exasperated by long suffering and weary of fighting for a cause which, as it had not promoted that of their country, and had now become entirely separate from it, threatened to reduce them to the condition of mercenaries, loudly urged their chief to return home, particularly as their then lawful sovereign, the king of Saxony, had remained at Leipsic at the desire of Napoleon himself. He reported the case to the emperor, who promised to give an answer in a week; this satisfied the troops, and the march towards the Rhine continued; but when the fixed term had elapsed and the expected decision was not given, the excitement amongst the Poles became so violent, and their accusations against prince Sulkowski of being ready to sacrifice them to the views of his personal ambition so loud, that in order to engage them to accompany the emperor to the frontiers of his dominions, he gave his word of honour that in no
case

the occupations to which he devoted himself during this retreat, if not so conspicuous as those

case whatever would he pass the Rhine. This solemn promise allayed the excitement of the troops, and they continued their march. When they had arrived at a place called Schluchtern, the emperor, passing before the Polish corps, called Sulkowski, and asked whether it was true that the Poles wished to leave him? "Yes, sire," answered the prince, "they beseech your majesty to authorise them to return to their homes, as their number is already too insignificant to be of any value to your majesty." The French emperor objected to it; and having assembled the Poles, delivered to them one of those speeches by which he knew so well to excite the enthusiasm of the soldier, and it did not fail to produce its wonted effect. The Polish troops, exalted by the imperial speech, forgot all their former resolutions, and promised to follow Napoleon to the last. It may be easily imagined how cruel the position of prince Sulkowski was rendered by this unforeseen circumstance; he was placed in the painful alternative, either of not adhering to the word by which he had bound himself to his companions in arms not to pass the Rhine in any case whatever, or of sacrificing at so young an age all his views of ambition and glory (for the emperor Napoleon, notwithstanding his reverse at Leipsic, had still a great chance of restoring his fortunes), and, what was more important, exposing himself to the various comments to which his conduct would become unavoidably subject in such a case. He chose, however, the latter course, thinking that there could be no compromise with a word pledged in such a solemn and explicit manner as his had been, notwithstanding that his countrymen, who were not bound by a similar pledge, had changed their resolution. He requested, therefore, and obtained the permission of the emperor, to return to his lawful sovereign, the king of Saxony, whose fate was at that time unknown, and left the French army,

which he had followed in the earlier part of his life, were neither less valuable nor useful to his

accompanied by the officers of his staff who shared his resolution. Having learned that his monarch was a prisoner at Berlin, he addressed to him from Leipsic a letter, requesting a discharge for himself and the officers who had accompanied him, and soon afterwards he obtained from the allied monarchs permission to join his family. It is but fair to add, that justice was rendered by his countrymen to his conduct.—New hopes were raised for Poland at the congress of Vienna by the emperor Alexander. Prince Sulkowski was called to aid in the formation of a Polish army, and he gladly joined in a service where he expected to be useful to his country. Although the congress of Vienna did not realize the hopes which had been entertained, of seeing Poland restored to a state of independence, it erected a small portion of its ancient dominions into a constitutional kingdom, subject to the emperor of Russia as king of Poland. This was sufficient to stimulate the exertions of the Polish patriots to uphold that imperfect creation, more particularly as the stipulation to grant national institutions to those parts of ancient Poland which remained provinces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, held out, in some respects, a prospect of the entire restoration of that country. Prince Sulkowski therefore entered the service of the new kingdom, and was nominated adjutant-general of the emperor Alexander. But as the new kingdom was soon abandoned to the tyrannical caprices of the Grand Duke Constantine, Sulkowski demanded his discharge, frankly stating to the emperor the reasons which induced him to do so. The emperor, however, requested Sulkowski to remain, declaring that the circumstances he complained of were but temporary, and that he would amend them. Sulkowski, who was obliged on account of his duties to visit St. Petersburg several times, and received the greatest marks of kindness from the emperor Alexander, insisted on leaving the service,

countrymen. He undertook himself the superintendence of the school of Leszno, and, sparing neither fatigue nor expense for its improvement, succeeded in bringing it to a state of prosperity equal to that which it enjoyed in the palmy days of the Leszczynskis. The school is now divided into six classes, where the pupils are taught reli-

vice, and, after many refusals, obtained his discharge in 1818. After that time he settled in his castle of Reisen, in the vicinity of Leszno, and devoted himself to the education of his family, which, since the loss of his accomplished and virtuous princess (1824), devolved entirely on himself, and the promotion of the welfare of his tenants and dependants. A new career, moreover, was thrown open to his patriotism when the grand duchy of Posen, where Leszno is situated, received a provincial representation, of which he was created a hereditary member, as possessor of an entailed property, called in Poland "*Ordinatio*." (a) He presided over the assembled states of his province, and was created a member of the council of state of Prussia. This placed him in a very difficult and delicate position between the monarch and the provincial states, the deputies from which justly complained of the various and constant encroachments made by the government on the nationality of the province, the conservation of which was guaranteed by the treaty of Vienna. Enjoying the confidence of both parties, he succeeded, by his firmness in defending the privileges of nationality, in gaining the confidence of his countrymen, whilst the monarch rendered justice to his moderation in the conscientious discharge of his arduous duties. He kept, however, aloof as much as he could from

(a) There are a few properties of that kind in Poland, which can be neither created nor abolished without the assent of the supreme legislature in the country.

gion, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew ; the Polish, German, and French languages and literature ; mathematics, natural history and philosophy, geography and history, drawing and music. As it is now frequented by a great number of the Roman Catholic youth, a clergyman of that confession is attached to the college for their religious instruction. The number of pupils is about three hundred, and each of them had in the late prince a paternal friend, who was always ready to give advice, assistance, and liberal support, to those who needed and deserved it by their behaviour, and his influence was constantly employed to promote their views after they had quitted college. Sulkowski was indeed a noble specimen of the enlightened views entertained now by the most distinguished Roman Catholics of our country, by whom, to our knowledge, difference of religion was never considered when it mattered to serve their countrymen.

from public affairs, devoting his time to the useful occupations which we have described in this note. A premature death cut short his useful career, on the 14th April 1835, and plunged his family into profound grief, and all those who had known him, either personally or by reputation ; but by none was this loss more acutely felt than to the school of Leszno, which was so much indebted to him. Professors and pupils attended his funeral, and deposited, with a pathetic speech of the rector, a wreath on the coffin of their benefactor, whose memory will long live in their grateful hearts.

The Bohemian brethren had also a higher school at Kozminek, established as early as 1553, which enjoyed for some time a great reputation, particularly when under the superintendence of Sym. Theophilus Turnowski (whom we have had many opportunities of mentioning) and Stanislaw Grzebski, a celebrated mathematician. It dwindled down, however, towards the end of the sixteenth century into a primary school, of which the Bohemian brethren possessed several in Grand Poland; as, for instance, at Poznania, Barcin, Ostrorog, Wieruszew, Lobzenica, &c. The instruction given in such schools consisted, in addition to religion, of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Polish grammar, the rudiments of Latin, and in some places German.

The Helvetian confession, which prevailed in Little Poland, had fourteen higher schools in that province, including the palatinate of Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia. The principal of them were that of Cracow, Dubiecko, Paniowce, Lubartow, Secymin, Bychawa, Chmielnik, Turobin, Oksza, Krylow, Lancut, Belzyeco, and Czortkow. The most celebrated were the schools of Dubiecko and Lubartow. This last-named, established and supported by Firley, palatine of Cracow, enjoyed for some time an extraordinary popularity, and was frequented by many Romanist youths. But all these schools had only temporary prosperity, and were soon ruined by the want of permanent

endowments, the voluntary contributions by which they were supported diminishing or ceasing, as those who paid them relapsed into Romanism. In several places the descendants of those wealthy noblemen who had founded colleges abolished them after their return to the Roman Catholic church. Thus the school of Paniowce, in Red Russia, founded by John Potocki, palatine of Bratzlaw, and which must have been important, as it bore the appellation of an academy, and possessed a printing-office, was abolished after the death of its founder by his son, who returned to Romanism. Several of those learned establishments, as for instance, Lubartow, Chmielnik, &c. degenerated, moreover, into anti-Trinitarian schools. There were also many primary schools in the same province ; and, in all probability, every congregation of some importance possessed one.

The Helvetian church possessed several schools of a higher description in Lithuania, chiefly established and supported by the Protestant branches of the family of the princes Radziwill. There were such schools at Brest, Siemiatycze, Vilna, Szydlow, Birze, Kieydany,* and Sluck ; of these, the two last-named only endured to our times, having been endowed by their founders, the Radziwills, with considerable estates, and shel-

* Kieydany was peopled chiefly by Scotch emigrants.

tered from Romanist persecution by the influence of that powerful family which, even when professing the Roman Catholic religion, continued to protect and to show much kindness to the foundations of their ancestors. In 1804, the school department of the university of Vilna, comprehending all the provinces torn from Poland, received a new organization from prince Czartoryski, who was nominated by the emperor Alexander *curator*, i. e. *supreme director* of that department, and introduced into it a system of public education not inferior to that established in any part of Europe. Instruction was communicated in the Polish language, whereby the Polish nationality was preserved under the dominion of Russia. The above-mentioned schools of Kieydany and Sluck were largely benefited by this organization, in consequence of which they were considerably enlarged, and received additional incomes by a permanent annual grant from the general fund of the educational department.

The school of Sluck is still in existence ; but that of Kieydany, which had flourished during two centuries, and withstood all the Romanist persecutions, was abolished in 1824, under the following melancholy circumstances :—In 1823, the Russian senator, Nowossilzoff, who was entrusted with the supreme direction of the civil affairs of Lithuania under the Grand Duke Constantine, began by different vexatious measures to oppress

the learned establishments of that province, which created great excitement amongst the pupils, and was far from being allayed by the severities with which the boyish manifestations of discontent were punished, and the inquisitorial proceedings applied to the university of Vilna and the schools of its department. A secret circular was sent to all the rectors of colleges and schools, enjoining them to watch the libellous writings which the pupils might compose against the above-mentioned measures, and to report them to the authorities. It happened that the son of the Rev. Mr. Moleson, Protestant minister and rector of the school of Kieydany, a spirited lad of seventeen, discovered by chance amongst the papers of his father the above-mentioned circular, and, provoked by it, resolved to play a trick on the authorities by composing and placarding some libels, of which he would have otherwise never thought. Conjointly with some students, they composed and stuck on the walls of some houses a silly libel against the Grand Duke, full of abuse, and ending with the words, "He shall not escape from us."

Nowossilzoff himself proceeded to Kieydany, in order to investigate this affair: the authors of the libel were soon discovered; and the case was submitted to a court-martial, which condemned Moleson and another boy of his age called Tyr, for an offence which would have been punished everywhere else with a schoolboy's correction, to

perpetual labour in the mines of Nerchinsk, in Siberia, and the sentence was immediately executed. The college of Kieydany was abolished by an ukase, and all its pupils prohibited from being admitted into any public school. Prince Gallitzin, minister of Public Instruction in Russia, endeavoured to counteract the barbarous ordinance which deprived of education about two hundred youths, innocent even of the puerile trespass of their hot-brained comrade, but his honest intentions were foiled by the influence of Nowossilzoff.

The press was certainly the most formidable weapon with which the Reformation assailed the church of Rome ; and it is probable that without its assistance the Reformation of the sixteenth century would not have attained to better success than that of Wicliff and Huss, who had not the advantage of that valuable assistance. It is true that the press is as powerful an engine for the propagation of error as of truth ; still, as the latter has nothing to lose from publicity, but gains by being universally examined, it gave a decided advantage to the Protestants. The art of printing was introduced into Poland immediately after its invention, and a Latin work was printed at Cracow as early as 1465.* We do not know of any work printed in Poland from that time till

Protestant
typographies in
Poland.

* "*Johannis de turre Cremata, Explanatio in Psalterium,*" &c.

1491, when Świantopelk Fiol printed at Cracow a book of prayers in Slavonian, with Cyrillick letters. This Fiol was obliged, as we have elsewhere said,* to leave Cracow for some time on account of his Hussite opinions ; and there are some traces of his having printed works of an anti-Romanist tendency. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Haller, a citizen of Cracow, established the first regular book trade, employing at first foreign presses, namely, those of Leipsic and Nuremberg, but afterwards establishing his own printing-office at Cracow. Haller rendered great services to the progress of literature in Poland, by publishing himself many works, and by supporting with advances in money and types other printers, so that many new printing-offices were soon opened at Cracow. The first Polish book, a Life of St. John Chrysostom, by St. Bonaventura, translated by Opec, was printed at Cracow, in 1522, by Vietor ; and in 1536, the Catechism of Luther was also published in Polish. We have seen that the liberty of the press was established in Poland in 1539,† by a royal ordinance, and that all the efforts of the clergy to enslave it proved abortive. In the year 1550, printing was rapidly developing its progress, being in proportion to that of the Reformation. Printing establishments sprang up in all parts,

* Vide vol. i. fol. 69.

† Vide vol. i. page 130.

for not only Protestants were erecting them, in order to propagate the doctrines of the Reformation, but Romanists were obliged to do the same, in order to combat those doctrines.

The followers of the Eastern church had also several typographies of their own. The polemical discussions which animated the whole nation, chiefly between the years 1550 and 1600, had a powerful influence on the development of the national intellect. To understand theological controversies it was necessary, not only to be well acquainted with the Scriptures and the fathers of the church, but also with the ancient languages and many other branches of human learning. Works not only of a religious and controversial character, but also of a literary and scientific description, issued in great numbers from the presses established in various parts of Poland, which possessed a very great number for that time : the province of Little Poland had fifteen ; Grand Poland, nine ; Lithuania, seven Protestant printing-offices ; and indeed there were establishments of that kind in several towns of Poland, which are now reduced to the most miserable condition, where not even a press, but even a book will scarcely be found.*

* The learned Bandke (vide preface) enumerates the following places which had printing establishments previously to 1650 : Baranow, Bialynice, Braunsberg, Brest in Lithuania, Cracow,

The rapid intellectual movement which gave a strong impulse to the press, and was deriving new force from its liberty, could not be favourable to the system of immutability which the Roman hierarchy opposed to all reforms, or, as they were called, innovations. Unable, however, to suppress the liberty of the press, it contented itself by enacting several regulations adverse to it, which although inefficient at a time when the national intellect was too elevated to submit to such ordinances, were so many weapons laid in store for times more favourable to their application. These times arrived under the reign of Sigismund the Third, and the Protestant printing-offices established in towns belonging immediately to the royal jurisdiction were soon either abolished

Cracow, Derman, Dombrova, Dobromil, Dantzik, Elbing, Grodzisko, Halicz, Jaroslav, Ivie, Kalish, Kieydany, Kiof, Knyszyn, Koscienc, Kozminek, Krzemieniec, Krylov, Leszno, Lubcz, Lublin, Luklavage, Leopol, Laszczow, Losk, Lowicz, Marienburg, Mohilof on the Dnieper, Nieswiz, Nowywerenczyn, Oszmiana, Ostrog, Paniowce, Pinczow, Posnania, Pultusk, Rakow, Rawicz, Seyny, Slawuta, Stratyn, Szamotuly or Sambter, Targovica, Tartakow, Thorn, Warsaw, Wengrow, Wielkanoc, Vilna, Zabłudow, Zakliczyn, Zamosc, Zolkiew: there were besides many private typographies, established by nobles in their own houses; thus Tarnowski, Herburt, Radziwill, Chodkiewicz, and several others possessed printing establishments. The productions of Polish authors were also printed in many towns abroad, and Bandke has enumerated forty-six towns where such productions had been published.

or converted into Romanist ones. This measure could not, however, be extended to the estates of the nobles whose houses were their castles, protected by the privileges of their order against any arbitrary act either of the royal or ecclesiastical authority. But as the most influential families were, in consequence of the deplorable policy adopted by Sigismund the Third, fast returning to Romanism, the presses which they had established for the propagation of the doctrines of the Reformation were generally surrendered to the Jesuits. The clergy established a censure which, although confirmed by a royal decree on the 14th October 1621, had no legal validity, as it was not sanctioned by a diet. It prohibited the printing or even custody of any works whatever, but particularly of those of a sacred character, without a license from ecclesiastical authority.* This was executed in proportion as the clergy was regaining its influence. The resolution adopted by the synod of Warsaw under the primate Lubienski,† which not only confirmed the above-mentioned

* *Statuimus et decrevimus ut nulli imprimere in posterum sub-pœna anathematis liceat ; vel imprimi facere quovis libros, præsertim vero sacros ; neque etiam impressos vendere, vel apud se retinere, ni primum a nobis, vel a doctis senioribus nostris examinati et approbati fuerint. Vide Bandke's History of the Typographies of Cracow.*

† *De non imprimendis absque revisione et approbatione libris, ac revidendis ad minus semel in anno bibliothecis, bibliopolisque.* Ibid.

censures, but extended them by establishing an inquisitorial revision of libraries and booksellers' shops, became since that time, through the all-powerful influence of the clergy, a law, although it had not been confirmed by the national legislature, and its application became every day more stringent.

The Romanists, in the period of reaction, were not satisfied with preventing the publication of new works for the future, but extended their persecution to the past, in order to obliterate and to hide from posterity any signs that heresy had ever prevailed in Poland, and that the first families of that country were numbered amongst its disciples. A war of extermination was proclaimed against all that reminded men of the most brilliant period of the Polish civilization, because the national glories being connected with heresy, were regarded as a disgrace to the country by that reactionary party in whose eyes there could be neither honour, patriotism, nor virtue without a blind submission to the interests of Rome. Not only were books containing Protestant doctrines, or published by Protestants, destroyed, but even those which might contain passages unfavourable to the pretensions of Rome, were either burnt or mutilated. Nay, it was sufficient to condemn a book, whatever might have been its contents, if it issued from a printing-office known to have published heretical

works. Thus all the works which had been printed by Wierzbienta, whose establishment existed at Cracow from 1550 till 1590, were burnt, without any regard to their contents, by the Romanist clergy and their blind tools. Many Protestants who became Romanists, gave their libraries to the flames, in order to prove the sincerity of their conversion.* It was, therefore, no wonder that a great number of the best productions of the golden age of our literature were irrecoverably lost, and many became so scarce as to be known only to some few bibliographers.

The Protestant theological literature of Poland cannot boast of having attained any degree of eminence, a circumstance which may be chiefly accounted for by the want of a national Protestant university or high school. There were many Protestant divines in Poland who possessed great learning, and particularly a deep knowledge of the ancient languages, but they had been formed in the foreign Protestant universities, of which several, and chiefly Königsberg, Leyden, Franeker, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Marburg, and Edinburgh, had foundations for the maintenance of Polish Protestant students destined for the ministry of

Protestant
literature in
Poland.

* Thus, for instance, Slupecki, a wealthy noble, having abandoned the Reformed church and become a Romanist, burnt the books of his rich library without any distinction. Vide "Siarczynski's Era of Sigismund the Third."

the Gospel.* The Protestant nobles were also chiefly educated at the foreign universities, and, as an indispensable preparation for their academic studies, they were taught foreign languages, particularly the German, which constituted one of the regular courses given in the Protestant schools of Poland. Thus every Protestant who had received some education knew the above-mentioned languages, so that the productions of foreign literature being accessible to them, the publication of theological works in the national language, a publication which was moreover rendered every day more difficult by the restrictions of the press, and by the want of that support which could not be derived from the reduced state of the congregations, could be dispensed with. Yet, notwithstanding all these unfavourable circumstances, there were several works of great importance published by the Polish Protestants, and it is very likely that many of them were so utterly destroyed by the Romanist reaction that even the fact of their having existed remains unknown.

The first works by which, after the translation

* The foundation at Königsberg was made by the princes Radziwill; that of Marburg by a queen of Denmark, who was a princess of Hessen; of Leyden, we think, by the house of Orange; and of Edinburgh, for one scholar, by a Scotch merchant who a long time traded with Poland; but unfortunately, we have no certain data on that subject.

of the Scriptures, the doctrines of the Reformation were propagated, were collections of sermons called "*Postilla*." * The *Postilla* of Rey was the first production of that kind in Poland, and we have already given an account of the work, as well as of its author.† Samuel Dambrowski, Lutheran minister at Vilna, and afterwards at Posnania, and finally superintendent of his confession in Grand Poland, published a *Postilla*‡ which is much superior to that of Rey, and remarkable for the beauty of its composition and the purity of its diction. Christopher Krainski, superintendent of the reformed churches of Little Poland, published (1611) at Laszczow a *Postilla* which was much esteemed, and devoted particularly to the defence of the Consensus of Sandomir. The *Postilla* of Gregory of Zarnowiec is written with eloquence, and in very correct language. That of Schempin, minister of Vilna, published at Lubcz in 1611, was very much esteemed; but not one of its copies has been preserved to our times, for it shared the

* This appellation was introduced by Luther, and derived from the Latin words "*Postilla, scilicet, textus verba*," i. e. after the citation of the words of the text, because the sermon is deduced from the text or passage of the Bible which is read before.

† Vide vol. i. page 161.

‡ Printed at Thorn, 1621, and the same year at Vilna; reprinted at Leipsic in 1718-1719.

fate of many Protestant sermons which were destroyed with other similar works. The few that remain prove the Protestants to have possessed preachers of eminent talent ; and the Rev. Juszyński, a Roman Catholic priest, and one of the greatest authorities in the history of our national literature, says of the sermons of Episcopius, " really beautiful sermons, a pure language, and an eloquence worthy of the Catholic church."

Although Poland had possessed, even in the fifteenth century,* a Psalter in the national language, known by the name of that of *Prze-worczyk*, which went through several editions, it was not in general use, because the Roman Catholic worship does not favour the chaunt in the national language. The Protestants, of whose worship such chaunts form an essential part, endeavoured everywhere to promote the use of the Psalms in the language of the country, and the first Polish Psalter, accompanied with musical notes, was published in 1552 by *Brzozowski*, for the use of the Bohemian brethren. It was far surpassed by the Psalter of *Kreuchlieb*, Lutheran minister, the poetry of which, according to the judgment of the Roman Catholic archbishop *Woronicz*, one of our most eminent modern poets, is most beautiful. *James Gembicki* made a translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew ori-

* Vide vol. i. page 22.

ginal, as did James of Lublin. Mathias Rybinski, superintendent of the Helveto-Bohemian churches in Grand Poland, published in 1612 a Psalter, which was set to music and adopted by all the Bohemian and Helvetian churches of Poland. His poetry is considered beautiful.

Amongst the polemical writers we may mention Andreas Volanus, of whose controversy with the Lutherans at Vilna (1585) we have given an account.* He was a strenuous defender of his confession against the anti-Trinitarians, as well as the Romanists, who honoured him with the appellation of an arch-master of the heretics. Volanus wrote, amongst others, against the celebrated Jesuit Possevinus. In his work, "The Blindness of the Church," he predicted the consequences of the Roman Catholic reaction in Poland. He is also the author of a treatise on political liberty.

Andreas Chrzonstowski, celebrated for his explanation of the first chapter of St. John against the Socinians, but more for his writings against Bellarmine, published at Basle in 1594.

We may also mention Sudrowski, author of several religious treatises; and Ostrowski, who remained for some time at Oxford, and received there general approbation. James Niemojowski

* Vide page 82, and following.

a learned noble of the palatinate of Kalish, distinguished himself by his disputes against the Jesuits and Socinians, and was surnamed by the Romanists, on account of his zeal and eloquence, "the Hammer of the Heretics." It would be out of place to describe here the Protestant authors who wrote on profane subjects, but we must mention two Poles, Makowski and Arnoldus, who both filled successively with great credit, and for many years, the chair of divinity at the university of Franeker, and who left a great number of writings, chiefly of a controversial nature.

CHAPTER XIV.

ACCOUNT OF THE ANTI-TRINITARIANS IN POLAND, FROM
1565 TILL THEIR FINAL EXPULSION IN 1660.

IN our first volume we related that the anti-Trinitarian churches were so far constituted in the year 1565 as to have synods, schools, &c.; but notwithstanding the Catechism which they published in 1574, and which we have also de-

scribed,* they had no uniform religious system that could be embodied into one symbol or confession of faith. The only doctrine in which they all agreed, and which was the connecting link between the different shades of their belief, and the common bond of their union, was that of the superiority of the Father over the Son. The leading anti-Trinitarians exerted themselves to establish a conformity of doctrine in their churches, but the synod of Lancut, convoked for that purpose in 1567, separated without any result. The synod of Skrzynna, which assembled in the same year, and was attended by a great many ministers and eminent noblemen, in addition to a great number of other persons, exhibited a strong division between the two principal parties, one of which admitted the existence of Jesus Christ previously to his advent, but denied that he was consubstantial and coeternal with his Father ; thus renewing the ancient Arianism. The second party rejected the pre-existence of Jesus Christ, and was split into several subdivisions. In order, however, to establish a temporary union, or rather to prevent a complete division of the anti-Trinitarian churches, the synod of Skrzynna adopted a resolution which maintained an external union without removing the internal differences. It admitted expressions of which it rejected the

Division
amongst the
anti-Trinita-
rians mani-
fested at the
synod of
Skrzynna.

* Vide vol. i. p. 362.

meaning, for although all the parties denied the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, the expression of "Trinity" was retained.*

Principal secretaries amongst the anti-Trinitarians of Poland.
Farnowski.

The party which renewed the dogmas of Arianism was under the direction of Stanislaw Farnowski (Farnovius), who admitted the pre-existence of Christ, "*Christi existentiam ante-*

* The words of this resolution are as follows:—" *Pie et Sancte Trinitas est retinenda, ea lege, ut fraterna caritas ex præscripto Filii Dei servetur, et alter alterius infirmitates toleret, nullo vero prorsus modo alter alterum convitiis incessat. Quod si quis aliter fecerit, Deo rationem reddat. Interea integrum est per scripta de eo agere sed ita ne alter alterum calumniatur, convitiis proscindat, vel damnet, vel in privatis, vel in publicis. Orationes et conciones sacras alii aliorum audire possunt, ea cautione sicuti orationes peractæ fuerint ea forma quæ in verbo Dei est tradita. Quod si aliquis orationes instituerit vel pro concione docuerit non servato scripturæ sacræ solito stylo, in quisque ductum propriæ conscientie servatur. Si forte illas orationes vel conciones audire nolens foras exierit, non est id ei vitio ferendum, quasi vinculum fraternæ dilectionis solveret. Pari ratione in baptismo parvulorum et celebranda memoria Christi Domini actu, sequendus cuique est propriæ conscientie ductus cunctis expectaturis quid cuique et quomodo ostensurus sit in ista difficili confusione rerum per Romanenses introducta, et ardentes preces missuris ut vera institutione uno animo in emendatione vitæ ad gloriam Dei, et mutuum solatium utamur, alter alterius fidei imperare nolens, cum istis sit Dominus et Largitor sit, ipse Deus usque quo is miserit sapientiores ministros angelos suos tempore suo zizania avulsuros, et a tritico separaturos, interim nos alii alios non evellamus nec laceremus. Hoc enim Christus noluit permittere apostolis tanto minus id nobis permisit. Datum Scrinæ, die 27 Julii 1567.*"—Vide Lubieniecki Hist. Reform.

secularem," but denied his consubstantiality and co-eternity with the Father, and was such a violent antagonist of the doctrine of the Trinity, as it is believed by all Christian churches, that he maintained that the Mahomedans and Jews had a sounder knowledge of God than those who subscribed to the Athanasian creed. His notions concerning the Holy Ghost had no definite character. He admitted that the Holy Ghost had a separate essence, "*ens singulare*," yet was not the third person of the Trinity, nor the Godhead himself, but only "*aliquod vivum et quasi persona*," and therefore ought not to be worshipped. Farnowski rejected also the baptism of infants. He became minister of the church of Sandecz, under the patronage of Menzynski, starost of that place, who, with his wife, embraced his doctrines, and he had there a numerous congregation and a celebrated school.* He was also strongly supported by Taszycki, an influential noble, who became a convert to his doctrines. The chief members of that sect were Wisnowski, Kazanowski, Zytno, and a lady of the name of Zabawska, who supported it by their writings as well as by pecuniary contributions. This modern Arianism did not spread to any considerable

* "*Habuit ibi ecclesiam magnam et scholam celebrem*," says Sandius, in "*Bibl. Anti-Trin.*" Bock enumerates, in his "*Historia Anti-Trinit.*" five works of Farnowski.

extent, nor long survive the death of its founder. It appears that it ceased to exist about the year 1620, its followers having either passed to Socinianism or returned to the Helvetian church.

The party which rejected the pre-existence of Jesus Christ was subdivided into three principal shades, the heads of which were Czechowicz, Pauli, and Budny.

Czechowicz.

Czechowicz (Martin),* whom we have already mentioned amongst those who rejected the baptism of infants, developed his doctrines chiefly in a work entitled "Christian Dialogues." He maintained that it was not God who was made man, but that man was made God, and that Jesus Christ did not exist before he was born of the Virgin ; that he was a man similar to the rest of mankind, except that he was without sin ; that

* Czechowicz (a) originally belonged to the Helvetian church, and was in 1561 chaplain to prince Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, and afterwards minister in Cujavia and at Lublin. He adhered for some time to the opinions of Gonesius concerning the pre-existence of Christ, but afterwards abandoned them. The learned Socinian Ruarus gives the following opinion of him : "*Mart. Czechovius de Deo atque Christo nobiscum, du baptismo, cum Mennonitis, in cæteris, ni fallor, cum Calvini schola sensit.*" Apud Bock. His principal works, besides a version of the New Testament, published at Rakow (1577), are "*De Pædo-Baptistarum errorum Origine,*" &c., of which Bock gives a long analysis ; his "Christian Dialogues," which we have mentioned in the text, and several others of a polemical description.

(a) Pronounced Chekhovich.

he was conceived like other men, but was called the "Son of God" because he was prepared by God through the Holy Ghost in the womb of his mother; and that he was made Lord of all things that he might save and give eternal life to such as he pleased.* Jesus Christ was therefore to be worshipped. Czechowicz attacked those who refused to adore Jesus Christ, and designated them by the appellation of half Jews, "*semi-Judaisantes*," a term which has since been generally adopted. He admitted miracles and the evidence of the prophets who predicted the advent of our Saviour, as also that justification was only to be obtained by faith, and that works had but a subordinate merit. His opinion respecting worldly authorities were moderate, and he only recommended the refusal of obedience to them when they commanded actions contrary to the word of God. He recommended a patient endurance of injuries, and abstinence from seeking redress, either personally or by re-

* "*Non Deus pro nobis traditus est, sed homo ex patribus proveniens et a muliere natus. In hoc sensu filium Dei Jesum Christum, appellamus Deum, quatenus a deo vero per Spiritum Sanctum in utero matris suæ præparatus, vere Spiritu Dei unctus, imo re vera dominus omnium factus et confirmatus est; ut quoque ita vere quam ipse Deus omnipotente verbo suo omnia ferat et gubernet, ut quoque vere vivificare possit quemcunque vult, quemadmodum ipsi vere Deus dedit vitam habere in semetipso.*" Bock.

curing to the authorities, and maintained that a Christian should neither accept worldly offices nor make use of arms.

Despite his numerous writings and unwearied exertions, Czechowicz did not succeed in establishing a complete religious system, or in founding a school, and his doctrines were partly admitted and partly rejected by the bulk of the anti-Trinitarians.

Gregorius
Pauli.

We have already given, in the first volume, an account of Gregorius Pauli and his doctrines. He was more violent in his attacks on the doctrine of the Trinity than Czechowicz; we may add, that he was a believer in the millennium, of which he expected a speedy arrival, preceded by the conversion of Jews and Mahometans.

Symon Budny.

Symon Budny, a man of extraordinary learning, founded a party which utterly denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, and rejected the worship of him. This doctrine, established by Davides,* was developed by Budny, who may be regarded as the precursor of the present Rationalists of Germany;

* Davides (Francis), a native of Transylvania, was distinguished by his learning; he embraced Lutheranism, and was for sometime its strenuous defender against the Helvetian church; but, seduced by Blandrata, he adopted anti-Trinitarian opinions, and became superintendent of their churches in Transylvania. He afterwards repudiated the worship of Jesus Christ, to whom he assigned a human origin. Blandrata endeavoured in vain to make him abandon these notions, and he induced Socinus

although we have some doubts whether his works, which are exceedingly scarce, have exercised any direct influence on the modern school of infidelity. Budny translated the Bible, and his version is considered to be so correct and so near the original, that it gained the approbation of the learned Jewish rabbis. The notes, however, by which it is accompanied are completely those of an unbeliever. These doctrines were condemned by the anti-Trinitarians at the synod of Lublin, 1582; this sentence was confirmed in 1584, and Budny was deprived of his office of minister, which after some time, on his having recanted the obnoxious opinions, he again obtained.*

Socinus to come over to Transylvania for that purpose. Socinus had no better success, and Davides was on account of these opinions thrown into prison by order of Christopher Battori, prince of Transylvania, and died in confinement in 1579.

* Budny (Symon), a noble, was born either in Mazovia, or, which is more likely, in Lithuania, as the learned Eugene, metropolitan of Kiof, states that he belonged originally to the Eastern church, and was a perfect master of the Russian dialect, which was used in Lithuania, in which language, as well as in Polish and Latin, he composed some works. He was for some time chaplain to prince Radziwill at Kleck, afterwards to Kiszka, castellan of Samogitia, and finally at Zaslav in Lithuania. His principal works were: "Luther's Catechism in the Lithuano-Russian dialect," published at Nieswicz in 1562, in the translation of which he was assisted by Mathias Kawieczynski, starost of Nieswicz, and Laurentius Kryskowski, pastor of that place, both of whom passed, according to Eugene, from the Eastern church to Protestantism; 'On the Justification

Faustus Socinus arrives in Poland, and gives a uniform religious sys-

The anti-Trinitarian doctrines received a definite form, and were moulded into one religious system by Faustus Socinus,* nephew to Lelius

tion of Sinful Men before God," written in the same dialect and with the same assistance (1562, Nieswiez); the whole Bible in Polish, at Zaslav in Lithuania, 1572, in quarto; the New Testament, with annotations, at Losk (in Lithuania) 1584, in octavo. The Bible is exceedingly rare; a copy of it is, however, to be found in the library of the Sion College, London Wall. "On the Principal Articles of Christian Faith, i.e. of the Father, of his Son, and the Holy Ghost," (Losk, 1576), in Polish: it was considered the most subversive of revelation of all his works. "*Refutatio Argumentorum Mart. Czechovici quæ pro sententia sua quod Homini Christiano non liceat Magistratum Politicum gerere, in Dialogis suis proposuit*," Losk, 1574. He made also a Polish translation of Modvzewski's work, "*De Emendanda Republica*," vide vol i. p.199. It has been said that Budny had embraced Judaism, but this may be a calumny of his antagonists. His translation of Luther's Catechism, and the office of a chaplain to prince Radziwill, which he filled for some time, prove that he had conformed at least outwardly to the Protestant religion; but we are unable to ascertain when he embraced anti-Trinitarian doctrines.

* Faustus Socinus, descended in a direct line from the celebrated lawyer, Mariano Socino, who was a particular friend to Pope Pius the Second (Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini), was son of Mariano Socino, also an eminent lawyer, and nephew to Lelius. His mother was a Petrucci, his grandmother a Piccolomini, which proves that the Socinos, who belonged to the patrician families of Sienna, were connected with the noblest houses of Italy. Faustus was born in 1539; he did not study much in his youth, but passed merely through the usual course of polite literature. The letters which his uncle Lelius wrote to his relations, and which infused into them and their wives many of his opinions, made also an impression on him, and he retired from Italy when
his

Socinus, who had visited Poland in 1552. Faustus Socinus arrived in Poland in 1579, and settled at Cracow, whence, after a sojourn of four years, he transferred his residence to Pavlikovice, a village situated in its vicinity, and belonging to Christopher Morsztyn, whose daughter Elizabeth he soon afterwards married. This marriage, by which he became connected with the first families of Poland, contributed greatly to spread his opinions amongst the higher classes of that country, and paved the road to that extraordinary influence which, after having been for some time

tem to the
anti-Trinitarian
churches of
that country.

his family began to be persecuted on that account, and lived at Lyons from 1557 to 1562, during which time he developed his opinions by the study of the works of Ochinus and those of his uncle Lelius Socinus, whom he visited at Zurich, and whose property and papers he inherited in 1562. He returned that year to his native land and settled at Florence, where he enjoyed the marked favour of Francesco Medici, the reigning duke of Tuscany, and of his sister Isabella, married to Paulo Jordano Orsini. Whether the pleasures of the court of Florence distracted his mind from theological researches, or his unsettled convictions prevented him from taking any decided part in that respect, it is impossible to decide; suffice it to say, that he remained twelve years at Florence without manifesting those opinions which rendered him afterwards the chief of the anti-Trinitarian school. It was not before the year 1574 that he retired to Basle, in order to devote himself entirely to theological studies, and there he wrote his first work, "*De Jesu Christo Servatore*, 1579." He was called to Transylvania by Blandrata, in order to assist in silencing Davides, and the same year he arrived in Poland, where he remained till his death in 1604.

repulsed by the anti-Trinitarian congregations that differed from his views, he finally gained over them all. He was invited to assist at their principal synods, and took a leading part in them ; thus, at that of Wengrow in 1584, he successfully maintained the doctrine of the worship of Jesus Christ, and that its rejection would lead to Judaism, and even to Atheism. At the same synod, and at that of Chmielnik, held in the same year, he powerfully contributed to the rejection of the millenarian opinions taught by several anti-Trinitarians. It was at the desire of this last-named synod that he wrote his celebrated reply to the attacks of the Jesuits of Posnania. His influence was completely established at the synod of Brest in Lithuania, in 1588, where he removed all the differences that divided the anti-Trinitarians of Poland, and gave unity to their churches, by moulding their hitherto undefined and discordant dogmas into one complete and uniform religious system.

Socinus was several times exposed to the persecution of the Romanists, but without receiving any serious injury. At last the publication of his work, "*De Jesu Christo Servatore*," at Cracow, raised violent hatred against him ; and during his residence at that city in 1598, the rabble, conducted as usual by the students of the university, invaded his house, dragged him thence, treated him with the greatest indignity, and would certainly

have murdered him had he not been rescued by the professors of the university, Wadovita, Goslicki, and the rector himself, called Lelovita. These noble-minded men succeeded in saving their most dangerous polemical antagonist, by deceiving the infuriated mob and exposing themselves to personal danger; and it is said that their generous conduct was much blamed by the bigoted among the Romanists. Socinus lost on that occasion his library, which was destroyed by the mob, together with his manuscripts, of which he particularly regretted a treatise which he had composed against the Atheists. After that event he transferred his residence to Luklvice, a village situated at a distance of nine Polish miles from Cracow, where an anti-Trinitarian church had existed for some time. He settled in the house of Abraham Blonski, the owner of that place, and remained there till his death in 1607. When he lost his wife (1587), to whom he was passionately attached, the fortitude and resignation with which he supported adversity seemed to abandon him, so that for many months he was unable to resume his occupations. He left one daughter, named Agnes, who afterwards married Wyszo-waty, a noble of Lithuania, and was mother of the celebrated author of that name. About the same time he lost a considerable income, which he had regularly received from his estates in Tuscany, and had spent with much liberality. On

the death of his friend and benefactor, Francesco Medici, they were confiscated, and he was obliged to accept the bounty of his friends ; he bore this misfortune and many physical sufferings with patience and meekness, and seems to have possessed a most amiable character. His polemical writings are free from that virulence which at that time often disgraced the controversial works of Romanists as well as Protestants. There can be no doubt of the sincerity of his piety and the purity of his intentions, and this causes us to lament the more that such virtues and talents were employed with such deplorable success to promote doctrines, not only erroneous in themselves, but leading to consequences which neither Socinus nor any other of the sincere promoters of them had anticipated. There can, indeed, be no doubt, that the principle set forth by their school—of judging revelation by the test of weak, human reason, originated the flippant infidelity of the French school of the eighteenth century, and particularly that learned unbelief of many modern divines in Germany.*

* A life of Socinus, written by Samuel Przykowski, is prefixed to his works in the "*Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* ;" it has been translated into English. Przykowski, who belonged to a noble family of Poland, was born 1592, died in 1672 in Prussia, as a councillor of the elector of Brandenburg. He is author of several works : Bock enumerates forty-four of his productions.

Socinus developed his theological views chiefly in the work which he addressed to all the Protestant churches of Poland, inviting them to join his own ; * but he did not compose a regular Catechism, although he had an intention of so doing. This task was accomplished by Smalcus † and

* "*Quod Regni Poloniae et magni ducatus Lithuaniae homines vulgo Evangelici dicti omnino debent se cœtui illorum adjungere qui in iisdem locis falso et immerito Ariani et Ebionitæ vocantur.*" Bibl. Fratrum Polonorum.

† Smalcus (Valentin), whom Bock calls "*Inclutus Athleta*" in the defence of Socinianism, was born at Gotha, in Saxony, 1572, of a very respectable family. From his early youth he manifested extraordinary talents, and it is said that a rector of the school of his native town, which he frequented till his seventeenth year, said once to him, "*tu evades alter Lutherus,*" whilst another expressed quite a contrary opinion, saying to him, "*tu eris pestis Ecclesiæ vel Reipublicæ.*" After having visited several universities, he arrived in 1591 at that of Strasburg, where he contracted a friendship with Woydowski, who infected him with the anti-Trinitarian errors, particularly by recommending to him the "*Dialogues of Ochinus.*" He was induced by Woydowski to go to Poland, where, on arriving at Szmigiel, he was received into the Socinian congregation by baptism, and nominated rector of the school of that place. In 1594 he married a Polish lady of the name of Wotowski, was made minister of Lublin (1598), and passed (1605) in the same quality to Raków, where he died in 1622. Smalcus is considered one of the most eminent writers of his sect. Bock enumerates fifty-two of his works, written in Latin, Polish, and German, of which, however, the principal, besides the Catechism which we have mentioned in the text, is "*De Divinitate Jesu Christi.*" Smalcus' works are distin-

The Catechism
of Rakow.

Hieronimus Moskorzewski, who collected and digested into a systematic order the doctrines either established or approved of by Socinus; and they published their Catechism at Rakow in Polish, in 1605. This edition is exceedingly scarce, but it was reprinted in 1619. Smalcus published, in 1608, a German translation of that Catechism, which was reprinted in 1612, and dedicated it to the University of Wittenberg, which commissioned Balduinus, one of its members, to write a refutation of it. In 1609 a Latin translation of it was published; it was made by Hieronimus Moskorzewski, who had in some respects succeeded to the great authority that had been enjoyed by Socinus amongst the anti-Trinitarians. Moskorzewski presented it to James the First, king of Great Britain; and an English translation was published at Amsterdam in 1652. In the same year the parliament of England, by a vote given on the 2d of April, declared "that the book entitled '*Catechesis Ecclesiarum quæ in Regno Poloniæ*,' &c., commonly called 'The Racovian Catechism,' doth contain matters that are blasphemous, erroneous, and scandalous;" and ordered, in consequence, "the sheriffs of London and Middlesex to seize all the copies

guished, according to Bock, by great eloquence and perspicuity, but often show an ill temper, from which the Socinian writers are generally free. Vide Bock's "*Historia anti-Trinitariorum*."

wherever they might be found, and cause them to be burnt at the Old Exchange, London, and at the New Palace, Westminster." This vote does not mention the English translation, which probably had not then appeared. Mr. Abraham Rees published a new English translation of it, accompanied by an historical notice, in the year 1819.

The religious system of the Polish anti-Trinitarians, or Socinians, as they were justly called after the organization of their sect by Socinus, comprised in the Catechism of Rakow, may be reduced to the following principal points :—

Revelation was allowed to be the foundation of faith, but great latitude was given to human reason in expounding the words of Scripture. The insufficiency of human reason to work out the salvation of man without the assistance of Divine revelation was, however, admitted. According to these doctrines God the Father is supreme, without beginning, uncreate, who created all things. Jesus Christ was on earth a mortal man, but created in the womb of the Virgin, without the intervention of a man, by the power of the Holy Ghost, and on that account he was in a peculiar sense God's own and only-begotten Son. He became God by his martyrdom and resurrection, and was therefore to be worshipped and invoked. The Holy Ghost was a gift of God bestowed on the faithful. It was

denied that Christ was the word by which all things were made, and declared that he was only the founder of a new religion, the reformer of earthly and heavenly things; that having redeemed mankind and given them a new birth, he was the creator of a new world. It is, therefore, evident that the modern Socinians rejected the Arian notion of Christ's existence before all creation, and, consequently, that the name of that ancient sect was very improperly applied to them.

Predestination was decidedly rejected.

Baptism was considered a ceremony of minor importance, not having of itself any virtue or power of renovating man. Only those catechumens who understood the value of the obligations into which they entered, could effectually receive baptism. The baptism of infants was tolerated through charity.

Although the Socinians admitted that justification, since the time of the revelations of Jesus Christ, could only be obtained through him, they attached to the redemption of mankind by his merits an entirely different meaning from that which is professed by all Christian churches, whether Roman, Greek, or Protestant. According to them, Christ did not atone by his sacrifice for the sins of mankind, but showed only the manner in which Divine mercy was to be obtained, and set an example which man, by His assistance, should imitate in order to be saved.

The ecclesiastical organization of the Socinians, and their manner of performing divine service, were the same as those of the Protestants.*

We have mentioned that the Bible of Budny was not accepted by the Socinians on account of its notes; neither was the New Testament of Czechowicz. We must not omit to notice the New Testament of Falconius (Sokolowski), which was published at Brest in Lithuania, in 1566, under the title of "Deeds and Words of Jesus Christ." The Socinians never had a translation of the whole Bible acknowledged by their ecclesiastical authorities, but only one of the New Testament, which was re-made from the versions of Budny and Czechowicz, and published at Rakow in 1606 and 1620. An edition of this Testament, corrected by Crellius, was published at Amsterdam in 1686.†

The doctrines which Socinus maintained concerning political powers, and which he developed

* These subjects are described in a work entitled "*Politia Ecclesiastica quam vulgo Agenda vocant, sive forma regiminis exterioris Ecclesiarum Christianarum in Polonia, quæ unum Deum Patrem, per Filium ejus unigenitum in Spiritu Sancto continentur*," by T. Peter Morzcovius (Morszkowski), a Polish noble, and minister of the church of Lacnovice. It was composed in 1642, and published at Nuremberg by J. Z. Oeder. Sandius says, that it was written for the use of the Belgian churches.

† The library of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex possesses a copy of this scarce Testament.

in his letter to Paleologus, were those of passive obedience and unconditional submission to them ; and he strongly condemned the insurrection of Holland against the Spanish oppression, as well as the noble resistance offered to their persecutors by the French Protestants. Bayle observes, not without justice, that Socinus speaks on that occasion rather as a monk whose pen had been hired for the purpose of vilifying and making odious the Protestant Reformation, than as a refugee from Italy.*

* Socinus says, " From our allowing Christian people to make war, it comes to pass that the people who profess the name of Christ do not scruple to take up arms against the magistrate himself, not only with your consent and approbation, but even by your advice and impulsion, the books published by you maintaining that it ought to be done. The whole world is now a witness of what I say, having either seen these things done or been well assured of them ; but the two principal witnesses are the noble countries of France and the Netherlands, which have been wet and have flowed with the blood of citizens, merely from people's persuasion that it is lawful for them, or even a part of them, upon certain occasions, to take up arms against their lord and prince. Therefore, in the present age, we see done by those who boast to be better Christians than others, and under the pretence of defending the Christian religion, that which barbarous and savage nations abhor to do, to take up arms, namely, against their own kings. And yet we have heard those who have been killed in battle or elsewhere, on this account, publicly ranked amongst the martyrs of Christ forsooth. These, as I have observed, are the fruits of your allowing the right of making war. You are, indeed, excellent defenders of magistrates, who arm the people against the magistrates, that is to say, against

This doctrine was not, however, unconditionally accepted by the Socinians of Poland, and their synods of 1596, 1597, and 1598, allowed them to take advantage of all the privileges enjoyed by the Polish nobles, such as to possess dignities and offices, and to make use of arms, but only when compelled to do so in self-defence. This liberty displeased the inferior class of the

their kings, by teaching that war may be justly carried on at the command of the magistrate. For when the king becomes a tyrant (which every one will explain in his own way), the common people maintain, under your directions, or at least with your consent, that it is no longer the king, but the people, or some of the nobles of the kingdom, who are the magistrates; and under your authority and by your instruction, they do not scruple to oppose with arms the tyrant himself, as they suppose him to be, and his forces, and to wage open war against him. What monstrous evils have arisen from this we already know too well from experience; evils that may rather be sorrowfully lamented than described in words." Vide his "*Liber de Magistratu Adversus Paleologum*." James Paleologus was a native of Chio, for some time a Roman Catholic monk, and afterwards a strong anti-Trinitarian, maintaining the opinions of Budny and Davides. He was burnt at Rome as a heretic in 1585. He published several works; amongst others, "*De Magistratu Politico*," Losk., 1573, edited by Budny. It was attacked by Gregorius Pauli, and defended by Paleologus in a work entitled "*Defensio veræ sententiæ de Magistratu Politico*," Losk., 1580, also edited by Budny. It was against this book that Socinus wrote the work, whence we have given an extract copied from Bayle. It is remarkable, that this very work of Socinus was complained of by some Romanists to king Stephen Battory as a seditious libel!

Socinians, and by their influence a resolution passed the synod in 1605, declaring that Christians ought rather to abandon the countries invaded by the predatory forays of the Tartars, than to kill those invaders in defence of the country. This preposterous doctrine—one most dangerous to the safety of a state exposed to constant aggressions, repugnant to the national character, and moreover contradicted by the example of the primitive Christians, who fought valiantly in the Roman legions—was not strictly observed by the Polish Socinians, for many of them distinguished themselves in the career of arms ; such, for instance, were Boguslav Przypkowski, a colonel, who was killed in combating the Muscovites ; Cikowski ; the brothers Arciszewski ; Stephen Kazimirski, &c. &c.

We have already said that Socinus strenuously supported the doctrine that Jesus Christ was to be worshipped ; and that Budny, who maintained the contrary, was condemned by the synod of Wengrow. The same doctrine was solemnly confirmed by the synod of Novogrodek in Lithuania, in 1600, which declared that the invocation of Jesus Christ was absolutely necessary, and excluded on that account from its communion Budny and Domaratzki ; yet there are reasons to believe that Socinus, as well as his followers, did not always consider it in the same light ; for, as Mosheim justly observes, he expressed himself

in one of his controversial works to the effect that there were cases in which praying to Christ was not necessary to salvation.* And Lubieniecki, who was one of the great luminaries of that sect, treats, in his "*Historia Reformationis Polonicae*," the dispute which was raised on that subject by Davides in Transylvania very lightly, calling it a surge in a cup—*fluctus in simpulo*—which is a sufficient proof how little importance the Socinians attached to this subject. In the year 1610, and at the synods of Rakow and Lublin, some leading Socinians, such as Smalcus, Goslawski, Sieninski, and H. Moskorzewski, began to broach the doctrine that it was not absolutely necessary to salvation to believe and observe all that was taught by Christ and the apostles, and that certain passages of the gospel could be rejected. This was virtually to reject the necessity of revelation itself. This opinion, therefore, was strongly opposed by Ostorodus, a celebrated propagator of Socinianism in Germany, but chiefly in Holland. The synods above-mentioned decided against Ostorodus, who submitted to the opinions of the majority; and the synod of 1612 silenced the dispute, so that unity was re-established amongst

* "*Si quis tanta fide est præditus ut ad Deum ipsum perpetuo rectè accedere audeat, nec consolatione quæ in Christi fratris sui per omnia tentati invocatione proficitur, indigeat, hic non opus habet ut Christum invocet.*"—Vide his "*Epist. contra Vujeckium, apud Bibl. Fratrum Polon.*" vol. ii. p. 538.

Socinians, with the exception of the party of Farnowski, who, as we have said, continued obstinate till 1620, when they united with the rest, as did the congregation of Byskau, near Dantzic, which had differed in some minor points from the whole body of the sect.

Attempts of
the Socinians
to effect a
union with the
reformed
churches and
with the Men-
nonites.

The Socinians made several attempts to form a union with the reformed churches of Poland, and a colloquium, instituted for that purpose, took place at Rakow in 1598, but without producing any effect whatever. A similar meeting assembled at Lublin in 1611, but without a better result, and there was not even a chance of approximation, as the Socinians declared that they would not make the slightest concession on a point of doctrine. This attempt, which served only to widen the breach between the reformed church and the anti-Trinitarians, was described by Zaborowski, a follower of the first, in a pamphlet properly entitled "Fire and Water," but written with too much virulence. This failure did not, however, prevent the renewal of similar exertions at the meeting of Gorlice, near the frontiers of Hungary, which gave rise to the delusive hope that an act, impossible in its very nature, might be accomplished. The Socinians were chiefly represented on that occasion by Smalcus and Lombardus ; and the reformed or Helvetians, by Stancari (son of Francis). Procopius and Plachta, and a great number of nobles, Pro-

testants as well as Socinians, assisted at the discussions. After having decided on some preliminary arrangements, the meeting was transferred to Ozarow, and finally to Belzyce, where the Protestants had assembled a synod. The Socinians sent thither their principal leaders, Moskorzewski, Suchodolski, Stoinski, and Lubieniecki, who were met on the part of the Protestants chiefly by Krainski, superintendent of the churches of Little Poland, and a known ecclesiastical writer. The result was not and could not be more favourable than that of previous meetings, and the discussions were soon interrupted by the warmth with which the Socinians, and Moskorzewski in particular, sought to impose their opinions on the opposite party. Since that time it does not appear that the subject was ever resumed, though in 1619 an attempt was made to conclude a political alliance against Romanist oppression. This was not attended with better success, notwithstanding that the insurmountable obstacles that rendered the conclusion of a dogmatical union impossible did not stand in the way of such a compact. The Socinians tried also to establish a religious community with the Mennonites, in common with whom many anti-Trinitarians held the doctrine concerning the baptism of adults. A proposition to that effect was made at the synod of Rakow, in 1611. Smalcus and Moskorzewski composed an address to the Mennonites, and also

the terms of a union with them, the negociation of which was entrusted to Goslawski and Christopher Lubieniecki. The Mennonites gave a written answer, and the synod of Rakow (1613) declared that it was impossible to accomplish the project.

The period between 1585 and 1638 may be considered the most brilliant of Polish Socinianism, and to this the school of Rakow had greatly contributed.

Rakow the
chief seat of
Socinianism.

Rakow, which was founded in 1569 by John Sieninski, palatine of Podolia, who belonged to the Helvetian church, is situated in the palatinate of Sandomir. Sieninski having granted many advantages to the new settlers, and particularly unrestrained freedom of religious exercises, the town increased so rapidly in population and prosperity, that in a few years after its foundation it had become one of the most remarkable places of Poland. An anti-Trinitarian congregation was soon established there under Gregorius Pauli, who, as we have said, was the chief of a separate sect. They were joined by many Socinians; their doctrines were embraced in 1600 by James Sieninski, son and heir of the founder of Rakow; and since that time the town was the chief place of that sect and the fountain-head of their doctrines, not only for Poland, but for all Europe; so that Rakow may be justly called the Rome of Socinianism. The school

which was established there in 1602, and which soon became so celebrated as to gain for Rakow the appellation of the Sarmatian Athens, contributed greatly to the importance of that place. This school, which was conducted by scholars, Poles as well as foreigners, who enjoyed a European reputation, such as Ruarus, Ostorodus, Crellius, Wyszowaty, Lubieniecki, &c.,* was fre-

* Ruarus (Martin), born in Holstein in 1589, studied at Altorf, where he became imbued with Socinian opinions, which induced him to visit Rakow in 1615, where he was received with the greatest kindness by its owner Sieninski, as well as by Smalcus and J. Crellius. He returned to Germany; continued his studies at Altorf and Strasburg; went again to Rakow, and was made rector of its school in 1621. He resigned that office in 1623, and went on his travels with several distinguished Socinians. He spent some time in England, and received an advantageous offer at Cambridge, which he declined; and visited France, Holland, and Germany, contracting during these travels an intimacy with several eminent characters of that time, and particularly with Grotius, who entertained for him a very high regard. He returned for the third time to Poland, lived for some time as tutor in the family of Cikowski; paid a visit to Holland in 1632 by the order of a synod, for the purpose of effecting a union with the Arminians of that country; assisted at a synod at Rakow in 1633, and settled at Dantzic as the pastor of a Socinian congregation, remaining there seven years. Being expelled from that city, he settled on the estate of one of his fellow-sectarians, being protected from persecution by the patronage of several eminent Polish lords, who, notwithstanding his religious opinions, favoured him on account of his great learning. His principal patron was the celebrated warrior Stanislaw Koniecpolski, grand general

quented, not only by Socinian, but also by Protestant and Roman Catholic youths, and it num-

general of Poland, a Roman Catholic, who procured for him, in 1643, from King Vladislav the Fourth, the diploma of a royal secretary, with all the privileges appertaining to that dignity, which was confirmed through the patronage of Koniecpolski by King John Cazimir, in 1649. He died in 1659, aged 70. Ruarus was one of the most learned men of his time: he was a fine poet, an excellent orator and prose writer, and was well versed in the Oriental and in several European languages; but he chiefly occupied himself with all branches of philosophy and with law. He left many works, but his correspondence, which was published, is particularly interesting.

Wyszowaty (Andreas) de Szumski, Lat. Vissovatus, was one of the most learned Socinian divines. He was born, in 1608, at Philipow, a little town in Lithuania, from Andr. W., a noble and minister of the Socin. sect, and Agnes, the only daughter of Socinus. He was educated at Rakow, and was for some time tutor in the family of Tarlo, palatine of Lublin, a Roman Catholic, in 1631; he went to travel in company with Ruarus and other distinguished Socinians; visited Holland, England, France, and Germany; held, during his stay at Paris, several disputations with the doctors of the Sorbonne, and gained the friendship of Grotius, Gassendi, and other eminent men. He returned to his country in 1632, where he defended his confession publicly before the diet of 1639. In 1640 he again left Poland in company with a youth named Suchodolski, and having returned in 1642, became minister at Szersznie in the Ukraine, an estate of a Socinian family, Woynarowski. In the following year he lost his father, who was attacked in his own estate called Wrocmirowka, situated in the palatinate of Cracow, by a band of ruffians, who plundered his house and treated him with such barbarity that he died in consequence. The same year he transferred his residence to Volhynia, to superintend the churches

bered about one thousand pupils. Rakow was not only the seat of learning, but also of com-

churches and school of Beresteczko and Kisielin; and when these were abolished by a decree of the tribunal, he became minister at Siedliski in the palatinate of Lublin, where he married Elizabeth Rupnowski, who is described as a lady of great piety and virtue. The invasion of the Cossacks compelled him to seek refuge in Prussia. When tranquillity was restored, he returned to Poland, and became minister at Robkov in the palatinate of Cracow in 1650, and remained there till 1656, when his house was invaded by a mob excited by Romanist priests. He was obliged to fly for safety to Cracow; his library was destroyed on that occasion, as was that of Lubieniecki. After the expulsion of this sect from Poland in 1660, he retired to Hungary, and after some time to Germany, and finally settled in Holland, where he died in 1678, aged 70, having left the reputation of an unblemished life and of an unshaken fortitude under continued adversity. Bock enumerates sixty-two of his productions, written chiefly on theological subjects. The most important are "*Religio Rationalis seu de Rationis Judicio, in Controversiis etiam Theologicis ac Religiosis adhibendo Tractatus*;" and "*Stimulus Virtutum Fræna Peccatorum*." He enjoyed a European reputation, and it was against him that Leibnitz wrote his treatise: "*Sacrosancta Trinitas per Nova Inventa Logica Defensa*."

Crellius (John), who was born in Franconia in 1590, and died at Rakow in 1634, was one of the greatest supporters of the Socinian sect, and considered as second to Socinus himself. His principal works are "*Ethica Aristotelica et Christiana*," and explanations of several parts of the Scriptures. They are contained in the "*Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*," and in his Life, written by Pistorius, a well-known historical author, who abandoned Socinianism and became a Romanist. He left a family, and one of his descendants, Samuel Crellius (born 1660, died 1747), was one of the most learned men of his time,
and

merce and industry; the many merchants and artisans who had settled there carrying on a very flourishing trade. The printing establishment of Rakow sent forth, not merely the theological works of the Socinians, but also many books of a literary and scientific description.

Principal congregations and schools of the Socinians in Poland.

In addition to Rakow, the principal congregations of the Socinians were at Lublin, to which many distinguished families of that province belonged. They had a celebrated school at Lubar-tow, a town situated not far from thence, and belonging to the then wealthy family of Kazimirski, who were zealous promoters of that sect. The church of Lublin was, after its destruction in that place, transferred to Piaski, and thence to Siedliski. They had also churches at Zaporow and Gozdow, situated in the same province. They possessed several churches in the palatinate of Cracow, of which the most important were at

and enjoyed a great reputation in the literary world. He visited England several times, and enjoyed the particular friendship and patronage of Lord Shaftesbury. He left two sons, who settled in North America, in the state of Georgia. Bock enumerates twenty-seven of his productions. His brother, Paul Crellius, was also a very learned man, and is supposed to have assisted Bayle in the composition of his Historical Dictionary. He lived a long time in England, where he was naturalized and knighted. He seems to have spent much of his time at Cambridge, where, supported by Lord Shaftesbury, he made a part of his studies, and was occupied in making extracts from different manuscripts for his patron. He died at Andreaswalde in Prussia.

Sandecz and at Luklavage, where Socinus spent the last years of his life, where he died and was buried. This place had also a celebrated school, frequented by many youths, not only from Poland, but also from Transylvania. In the province of Volhynia the Socinians had also several churches, of which the principal were at Kissie-lin and Beresteczko, belonging to the family of Czaplic, who professed Socinianism. The first of these places had also a school, conducted by eminent professors. There was also a school in a place called Czerechow, and churches at Hoyscie, on the river Styr; Sokal, on the river Slucz, Lachowice, and Szczeniátov. In the palatinate of Kiof, Socinianism was chiefly supported by the rich family of Niemierycz, who founded churches at Uszomir and Czerniechow; they had also a church at Szerszno, belonging to the Socinian family Woynarowski. They possessed several churches in Lithuania, of which the principal was at Novogrodek. In Grand Poland they had a congregation at Szmigel, under the patronage of the celebrated Dudithius,* to whom

* Dudithius, or Dudycz, was born in Hungary in 1533, and received an excellent education under the tuition of his father, which he completed at Breslaw, Padua, and Paris. Having gained the friendship of the celebrated Reginald de la Pole (Cardinal Pole), he accompanied him from Italy to England, whence having returned to his native land, he was created bishop of Tina in 1561, being only twenty-six years of age; and in 1562 he was

that town belonged, and who, although professing the doctrines of the Reformation, was

sent as imperial ambassador to the council of Trente, where he distinguished himself by his eloquence, and advocated the concession of the communion of two kinds to the laics. It is supposed that this induced the pope to demand his recall. In 1565 he arrived as the imperial envoy in Poland, where he publicly repudiated Romanism, and married, in 1567, a lady of the family of Straz. He was naturalized in Poland, and purchased the estate of Szmigel, where he allowed the Socinians to establish a church. This circumstance, and the friendly correspondence which he maintained with Socinus, gave rise to a suspicion, on the justice of which we are unable to decide, that he adhered to their doctrines. After the death of his first wife he married a Zborowski, widow of Tarnowski, by which, as well as by his first marriage, he became allied to the first families in Poland. Having zealously promoted the interests of the archduke of Austria, the competitor for the throne of Poland against Stephen Battory, who was supported by the family of his wife, he quarrelled with them, and was ordered by the new king to quit Poland in 1575. He did not do so before 1579, and then retired to Moravia, where, having purchased estates, he lived for some time occupied with theological and scientific researches. He afterwards transferred his residence to Breslaw, where he remained till his death in 1589. Although he had abjured Romanism, he never directly conformed to any of the Protestant confessions, and when Beza expressed a wish that he would say to what church he belonged, he answered in an ambiguous manner. During his residence in Moravia, the Protestant clergy required from him a declaration to the same effect; he eluded their demand by promising that he would give to the emperor himself an explanation on that subject, which however he never did. Having given many proofs of his devotion to the house of Austria, he was sheltered against every persecution by the emperor.

strongly suspected of a leaning towards Socinianism.*

The Polish Socinians were exceedingly zealous in propagating their doctrines, not only in their own country, but also abroad; and they frequently sent missionaries to spread in different places, and chiefly in the most celebrated universities, their opinions, by private conversation and books published for that purpose. In forwarding these views they spent considerable sums of money, subscribed either by synods or by the liberality of single individuals. Thus Smalcus

The Socinians endeavour to propagate their sect abroad.

emperor. Dudycz maintained a friendly intercourse with the most eminent men of his time. Amongst his many acquirements, he was particularly celebrated for his Latinity; and his fondness of Cicero was so great that he copied all his works three times with his own hand. Dudycz left several works, amongst others, a life of his friend Cardinal Pole, published in Latin at Venice in 1563, and reprinted at London in 1690; it is, however, supposed to be only a translation from the Italian of Beccateli.

* Amongst the families which professed Socinianism in Poland, we may mention as the principal the following:—Kiszka (one of the most wealthy and influential in Lithuania), the princes Zaslowski, Zbarazski, and some members, particularly ladies, of the family of the princes Radziwill, Czaplic, Cikowski, Orzechowski, Suchodolski, Otwinowski, Morsztyn, Taszycki, Moskorzewski, Niemierycz, Hornostay, Chlebowicz Wyszowski, Szczepanowski, Liniewski, Hulewicz, Wenzyk, Kochanowski (namely Nicholas, an uncle of the celebrated poet), Kazimirski, Chzronstowski, Zelenski, Schlichtyng of Bukowietz, Morszkowski, Woynarowski, Domaratzki, Przypkowski, Arciszewski, Lubienietzki, &c. &c.

was sent, in 1608, to visit the Socinians in different parts of Silesia. Ostorodus and Woydowski visited Holland for the same purpose ; but, as Mosheim justly observes, although these missionaries were qualified in every way for their task, for some of them were distinguished by the lustre of their birth and others by the extent of their learning, they failed almost every where in effecting their object. The Socinian youths went generally to German Protestant Universities, in order to complete the studies which they had begun at Rakow, and they did not lose the opportunity afforded them by this circumstance of circulating their religious opinions. The University of Altorf was chiefly frequented by them, and according to Zeltner,* they exercised a secret but powerful influence on the Protestants of that University. It seems, indeed, that the Socinians who could publicly profess their religion in Poland had many such congregations abroad. It may be also said that they had a secret society amongst themselves, to which only the initiated were ad-

* Vide his "*Historia Crypto-Socinianismi Altorfni*;" the same author enumerates, amongst the Poles who studied at the University of Altorf, the following names: Sieninski, Schlichtyng, Morsztyn, Przypkowski, Taszycki, Zielinski, Naruszewicz, Szczuka, Lipski, Kiernowski, Ciachouski, Woynowski, which he calls *horrida nomina*, although perhaps not very euphonius to foreign ears, the greater part of these names belong to very distinguished families in Poland.

mitted; for it is a fact that they maintained a correspondence in a language mysterious to the uninitiated, and in which individuals, as well as objects, were designated by assumed names. Thus, for instance, Rakow was called Verona, or Covaria; Lithuania, Classivaria; Cracow, Fragosa; Sigismund the Third, Victorinus, &c.

The Socinians were exposed to manifold persecutions before they were expelled the country. We have mentioned the judicial murder of Tyskiewicz, under the reign of Sigismund the Third. The church of Lublin was destroyed in 1627, in a riot at the same time with the Protestants; and the followers of that sect were persecuted and oppressed under the most absurd pretences, as well at Lublin as in many parts of Poland. Rakow, however, as the capital of the sect, was the chief object of Romanist hostility, and several attempts were made to attack it; but fortunate circumstances prevented its ruin, although it was several times exposed to serious vexations.

Persecution of
the Socinians.

It was during the reign of the tolerant and enlightened Vladislav the Fourth, that the capital of Socinianism was ruined, and under the following circumstances:—Two pupils of the school of Rakow, called Falibowski and Babinecki, were accused of having offered indignities to a wooden cross by throwing stones at it. This freak of two silly school-boys, which deserved to be punished by a penalty common to school discipline, which indeed was inflicted by their parents, was de-

Abolition of
the school of
Rakow.

nounced by the Romanist party, headed on that occasion by Zadzik, bishop of Cracow, as a sacrilege and an offence against God and the monarch, which ought to be visited by the destruction of a school where, as they said, principles were taught which were put into execution by its pupils in such a fashion.

This accusation was also strongly supported by Kazimir Sieninski, son of the owner of Rakow, who, having become a Romanist, did not scruple to take a prominent part amongst those who attacked his own father, the chief promoter of the school of Rakow. They insisted on prompt and signal vengeance for the insult offered to religion, and that it should be inflicted on their sole evidence, and without waiting for a judicial inquiry into the circumstances of that case. At the same time, accusations of different kinds were scattered about, imputing to the Socinians political schemes dangerous to the safety of the country ; and a book entitled "*Tormentum, Throno Trinitatem Deturbans,*" containing expressions injurious to the most sacred dogmas of the Christian religion, and as the Socinian authors maintain, falsely attributed to Letus, a member of their sect, was circulated as an argument in favour of persecuting them. The diet, at which the third part of the nuncios was composed of anti-Romanists, ordered an inquiry into that case, but reserved the final decision to itself. The Protestants, feeling the danger to which they themselves would

be exposed if they permitted the common enemy to crush the constitutional liberties of their dogmatical antagonists, resisted for some time the infraction of those liberties, but they were soon persuaded by the Romanists to abandon the Socinians, who, it was maintained, ought to be put out of the pale of the constitution, which guaranteed the rights of those who dissented *in religione*, which was the case of all Christian confessions, but not of those who differed *de religione*, as the Socinians did. Whether it was from fear of being ranked with those who denied the principal dogma of Christianity, or from a strong feeling which they entertained against them, the Protestants abandoned the defence of the Socinians and joined the Romanists in assailing them. The affair was submitted to the judgment of the senate, who decreed, on the 1st of May 1638, without examining the accused parties, the abolition of the church, the school, and the printing-office of Rakow; prohibiting the restoration of them under the penalty of civil death, and the banishment of the professors. This sentence was carried into execution, and the aged Sieninski, owner of Rakow, accused by his own son, escaped with great difficulty the severity exercised against his fellow-sectarians, by taking an oath that he was innocent of the crime committed against a wooden cross by the two school-boys. The bishop of Cracow, who was the chief instigator of that affair, endowed richly the Roman Catholic

church of Rakow ; but the town never recovered from the blow, and it soon dwindled into an insignificant place. It is now a miserable village, with nothing remarkable in it, except a manufactory of sieves.

This sentence, although rigorously executed, having been given in opposition to all the forms prescribed by the constitution of the country, was neither printed nor notified to the parties whom it concerned. This flagrant violation of the laws of the country justly awakened the apprehensions of the Protestant nuncios, lest it should be equally applied to them, and their leaders protested against the illegality of such proceedings. They complained that the accused parties were condemned without trial, that the chamber of nuncios was surreptitiously excluded from participating in the affair, and that the will of the diet, which had simply ordered an investigation of the case, reserving the adjudication to itself, had been thwarted and disregarded. There were also many Roman Catholic nuncios who joined the Protestants on that occasion. Yet neither this protest, nor the strong aversion of the monarch to religious oppression, nor the fact that Andreas Wyszowaty, a celebrated divine of their sect, was permitted publicly to defend his persuasion at the diet of 1639, could arrest the persecution of the Socinians.

Ruin of several Socinian churches and schools.

Thus the schools and churches of Kissielin and Beresteczko, in Volhynia, were abolished in 1644

by a decree of the tribunal, and their congregations dispersed; and Czaplic, the owner of these places, forbidden, under severe penalties, to give an asylum in his estates to his fellow-sectarians.

The reign of John Casimir was fatal to the Socinians. So early as the diet of convocation (1648), a proposition was started, that those Dissenters only from the Roman Catholic church who acknowledged the mystery of the Trinity should enjoy the rights guaranteed to them by the constitution. This proposition was not passed into a law, but Niemierycz,* an influential

Sufferings of
the Socinians
under the reign
of John Casimir.

* Salvandy, in his "*Histoire de Jean Sobieski*," Paris, 1829, vol. i. p. 271, states, that many Socinians joined the Cossacks. We are aware of a single instance only, that of George Niemierycz, a wealthy nobleman, who received a learned education, and travelled in company with Ruarus and Wyszowaty, and was the author of a Polish book of "*Prayers and Hymns*," published in 1653, and of some discourses in Latin.—Vide "*Sandius's Bibliotheca anti-Trinit.*" Possessing great estates in the Ukraine, and chiefly on the left side of the Dnieper, in the country of the Cossacks, he conformed to the Eastern church, and addressed his fellow-sectarians, engaging them to do the same, expecting to acquire by it an influence over the numerous followers of that church, and to employ it to the furtherance of their views. His address, which was based on grounds of worldly policy, was refuted by Samuel Przypkowski, author of the "*Life of Socinus*," by theological arguments. Niemierycz, who was invested by the Cossacks with a high command in their army, was afterwards murdered by them, being suspected of insincerity of his new religious profession. Salvandy states also (vol. i. page 251), that the Socinian nobles excited the revolt of peasants in the environs of Cracow and Posen; we are quite

noble, was not permitted, because of his persuasion, to sign the acts of the diet. The wars of the Cossacks, who ravaged the southern provinces, where the most part of the Socinian churches were situated, exterminated them ; for the Cossacks did not make any distinction of religious persuasions, but destroyed all that did not belong to the Eastern church, nay, even many followers of that church, belonging to the higher classes, fell victims to the barbarity of a fanatical rabble.

The invasion of Ragotzi, prince of Transylvania, in 1657, whose troops contained a great number of Protestants, as well as many anti-Trinitarians, was no less destructive to the churches and individuals of their confessions. The Wallachians, Moldavians, and other uncivilized hordes, from among whom Ragotzi's forces had been levied, committed the greatest excesses, and the chief Socinian churches were situated in the provinces exposed to his invasion. Many Socinians embraced the party of the king of Sweden, but although the same thing was

quite ignorant of that fact, and we think that he was misled by some account of the contemporary newspapers, and particularly of the *Gazette de France*, which paid much attention to the affairs of Poland, but whose information, considering the imperfect means of communication at that time, must have been often incorrect. Several Socinians joined Ragotzi, and one of them, Samuel Grondzki, left memoirs, which form a very valuable contribution to the history of those times.

done by a great number of persons belonging to different persuasions, the Socinians alone bore the consequences of that action. Thus, in 1656, about three thousand peasants, excited by the Romish priests, attacked the town of Sandecz, destroyed and burnt the habitations, murdered and mutilated many Socinians, without distinction of age and sex. Similar barbarities were perpetrated at Czarkow, an estate of the Moskorzewskis, and in other places. The valuable libraries of Wysowaty and Lubienietski were destroyed on these occasions.* We have already said that king John Casimir, having intrusted by a solemn act his kingdom to the especial protection of the Blessed Virgin, made a vow to remove the oppression of the peasants, and to convert unbelievers. The first part of this vow, however Christian-like and praise-worthy, was not even attempted, the monarch's too limited authority being unequal to the task of doing any thing against the interests of the land-owners, to whom the clergy also belonged. The fulfilment of the vow was therefore restricted to the reduction of the enemies of the Roman Catholic church. The number of Protestants was still considerable; several influential families of the country, and particularly that of the Radziwills, belonged to them; and they were supported by the interest of foreign princes of

* Vide "*Epistola de vita A. Vissovatii*," apud Sandius.

their creed, and at that time allied with Poland. Such were the king of Denmark and the elector of Brandenburg. It was impossible, therefore, to harrass them with any general and legal measure of persecution, although the project was entertained by some bigoted Romanists. At the diet of 1658, there was for some time a doubt whether the royal vow should be fulfilled by the expulsion of Jews or Socinians.* But as too many interests would have been hurt by the expulsion of a numerous population in whose hands the chief commercial interests of the country were placed, the Socinians were designated the fit objects of the fulfilment of the royal vow ; and the Jesuit Karwat, who enjoyed a great influence, instigated the diet of 1658, to show by deeds, as he termed it, its gratitude to God. The Socinian nuncio, Tobias Szwanski, tried to dissolve the diet by his veto before it had enacted a law against his sect ; but this right, which had been put in practice for the first time a few years before (1652), and by the scrupulous observation of which many most salutary measures had been overthrown, was disregarded when employed for the defence of religious liberty. The diet enacted a law, by which it was forbidden, under the severest penalties, to profess or propagate Socinianism in the Polish do-

Expulsion of
the Socinians
from Poland by
an enactment
of the diet of
1658.

* Przykowski maintains that John Casimir's vow related only to the Socinians.

minions ; and all those who did so, or in any way favoured that profession, were threatened with the immediate punishment of death. There was granted, however, to those who should persevere in that sect, a term of three years for the sale of their property and the recovery of their dues. Perfect security was promised to them during that term, but the exercise of their religion was prohibited, and they were not allowed to take any part in the affairs of the country.* This enactment was

* Decree against the Socinians, 1658:—" *Quamvis sectam Arianam, vel ut eam nonnulli vocant, Anabaptisticam in dominiis nostris existere et propagari lex semper abnuebat: quoniam tamen fatali quodam Reipublicæ casu, nominata secta non a longis temporibus in dominiis nostris, tam regni quam magni ducatus Lithuanicæ dilatarî cœpit, quæ filio Dei præternitatem adimit reassumentes et in suo vigore relinquentes contra illos statutum Uladislai Jagellonis antecessoris nostri de hæreticis, consensu omnium ordinum constituimus; quod, si quis ejusmodi inventus fuerit, qui sectam hanc Arianam in ditionibus nostris tam regni quam magni ducatus Lithuanicæ et provinciis eis annexis ausit, attentetve confiteri, propagare, aut prædicare, vel illam ut assertores illius protegere et fovere, fuerit que super hoc legitime convictus, talis quilibet superius nominato statuto subiacere debeat et sine ulla dilatione per capitaneos nostros et officia ipsorum capite plecti, sub privatione capitaneatus. Fautoribus vero illorum tanquam pro pœna perduellionis, forum in tribunali inter causas conservatas mixti fori assignamus ad instantiam cujusvis, sicuti et capitanei et eorumque officii; in Magni autem ducatus Lithuanicæ tribunali ex quovis registro. Volentes tamen Clementiam nostram exhibere, si quis talis inventus fuerit, qui hanc sectam suam abnegare nolit, ei anno—tres ad divendenda bona sua concedimus, salva interim bonorum et domorum*

not based on political considerations, neither did it impute to the Socinians any act of treason, but it was entirely founded on theological grounds, and chiefly on the fact that they did not admit the pre-eternity of Jesus Christ.—A rather odd reason in a country where Jews were tolerated and Mahometans admitted to all the rights of other citizens. The decree was, moreover, founded on entirely false premises ; for it condemned the Socinians by the law against heretics, enacted under the reign of Vladislav Jaguillon, which in the first place was virtually abrogated by a subsequent enactment, establishing the full liberty of religious exercises ; and in the second place, it was absurd to employ a law passed against Hussites, who never impugned the dogma of Trinity, for the punishment of those who denied it ; whilst Protestants, whose tenets were the same as those of the Hussites, were not included in its application.

The term of three years granted to the Socinians by the diet of 1658, was abridged to two by that of 1659, which decreed that, on the 10th July 1660, all the Socinians who had not embraced Romanism should leave the country under

domorum securitate, atque debitorum repetitione, quo tempore nihilo minus nulla exercitia sectæ suæ supra nominatæ peragere tenetur, nec ad ulla munia publica immiscere se poterit, sub pœnis superius expressis."

the penalties prescribed by the diet of 1658. By the same enactment, those Socinians who might abjure their persuasion were forbidden to embrace any other confession than the Romanist, because many of them having become Protestants to avoid the severity of the law of 1658.

Owing to the shortness of time, the state of the country, ruined by war, and the greediness of purchasers who took advantage of their unfortunate position, the Socinians were obliged to sell their property for prices which bore no proportion to their real value. Meanwhile persecution of every kind was heaped on them ; they were regarded as outlaws ; and as every kind of religious exercise was disallowed to them, nothing was more easy than to find cause for persecuting them on that ground. The Socinians, in order to avert their fate, made an attempt of such an unreasonable nature, that it is impossible to explain how they could have deluded themselves into believing for a moment in its feasibility. They presented to the king a petition against the enactment of 1658, promising to prove that there was no fundamental difference between their dogmas and the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church. This proposition was rejected. They sought protection, or at least intercession, from foreign powers ; but although the treaty of Oliva, 1660, insured to all religious confessions of Poland the same rights which they had enjoyed before the war, and al-

though Sweden endeavoured to secure those of the Socinians, it was of no avail; neither were the representations made in their favour by the elector of Brandenburg of any service. Despair induced the Socinians to propose a re-union with Rome, arranged by means of a friendly colloquy. It was authorized by Trzebicki, bishop of Cracow, who could reasonably expect that the Socinians, reduced to despair, were seeking an opportunity to enter the pale of the Roman Catholic church, with some appearance of conviction, and not by mere compulsion. Indeed, it could not be supposed by any sober person, that such clever controversialists as the Socinians would flatter themselves with the hope of obtaining concessions from a church whose doctrines were diametrically opposed to their own. Such, however, was not the case; the Socinians seriously maintained their arguments at the colloquium of Roznow (10th March 1660); and the whole affair turned out a solemn mockery, which, it is almost needless to add, produced no result whatever.

They disperse
to different
parts of Eu-
rope.

Nothing then remained for them but to leave the country before the expiration of the appointed term, a measure which was accompanied with great hardship, notwithstanding the attempt of several eminent noblemen to alleviate their sufferings, who, although professed Romanists, were connected by ties of blood and friendship with many Socinians. They dispersed into diffe-

rent parts of Europe, where they expected to find a safe asylum from religious persecution. A great number went to Transylvania and Hungary ; but a party of these unfortunate emigrants, composed of three hundred and eighty individuals, was attacked on their way to the last-named country by a band of robbers, sent on purpose, as it is supposed, and completely stripped of their remaining property. They were hospitably received by the Hungarian noblemen, Stephen Tekely and Francis Raday, who endeavoured with great humanity to allay their misery. Those who arrived in Transylvania found a consolation in the sympathies of their fellow-sectarians, and a safe home where they could live and freely exercise their religion. The queen of Poland also permitted many of them to settle in the Silesian principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor, which belonged to her, and some princes of Silesia did the same. Being dispersed in several parts of that country, they did not form any congregation, and either gradually left it, or became converts to Protestantism. A considerable number of them established a congregation at Manheim, under the protection of the palatine of the Rhine, which lasted from 1663 to 1666. They soon, however, became suspected of propagating their doctrines, which, considering their known zeal in that respect, was most probably the case, and were obliged to disperse. They withdrew, for the most

part, into Holland, where they could enjoy full liberty of religious exercise, and where there were several Socinians, who together with those of England and Germany, gave considerable sums for the support of their brethren banished from Poland. We have no information concerning their fortunes in that country, or whether they had a large congregation there. We are, however, inclined to think that such was the case, as they were able to publish, in 1680, at Amsterdam, a New Testament in the Polish language.

A number of Socinians retired to Prussia, where they met with a hospitable reception from their countryman, prince Boguslav Radziwill, who was governor of that province for the elector of Brandenburg, with whom he was nearly related.* They were, however, for some time exposed to several vexations, until the elector of Brandenburg, on the representation of Samuel

* Boguslav, prince Radziwill, was the last Protestant of that family. He was the son of James R. and Sophia Elizabeth, princess of Brandenburg, daughter of the elector, John George, and was distinguished for his military achievements. Although he had received, by the treaty of Oliva, full amnesty for having taken the part of the king of Sweden, he retired to Prussia, having been made governor-general of that province. He died at Konigsberg in 1669, and left an only daughter, Louisa, who was married to a prince of Brandenburg, son of the great elector, and after his death to a prince of Neuburg. She left one daughter, from whom the present royal house of Bavaria is descended.

Przypkowski, one of their most eminent authors, granted them full religious liberty, which they continued to enjoy despite the opposition made by the states of Prussia in 1670 and 1679. They formed two settlements, called Rutow and Andreaswalde, near the frontier of Poland. In 1779 the inhabitants of these places received an authorization from king Frederic the Second to build a church, but their congregations, which never had been considerable, gradually decreased; and according to official information which we have received on that subject, that of Andreaswalde, which had subsisted till 1803, was dissolved that year, and there remains no longer any vestiges of them. There were in Prussia, in 1838, only two gentlemen, the last surviving members of the sect—a Morsztyn and a Schlichtyng, both very old men, and the representatives of names distinguished in the literary and political annals of Poland. The rest of the Socinians had become Protestants, as had the families of the above-mentioned individuals.*

* We seize this opportunity for expressing our sense of obligation to his excellency Baron Bulow, Prussian ambassador at the court of Great Britain, to whom we applied in order to get official information on the subject in question, and who complied with our request in the most handsome manner. He immediately wrote to the ministry of religious affairs and public instruction at Berlin, and obtained by its intervention the information which we have given in the text.

Influence of
Socinianism on
the cause of the
Reformation in
Poland.

Thus ended in Poland the Socinian sect, which may be considered as having been formed and developed in that country, although its doctrines were chiefly imported from Italy.* Its followers, however, were never numerous in Poland, and chiefly confined to the upper classes of society. The object of our work not being controversial, we cannot enter into any polemical refutation of their errors, a task for which we are not competent, and which has been so ably performed by many theological writers, particularly by that eminent divine the archbishop Tillotson. Our object is only to consider the influence which Socinianism has exercised on the cause of the

* The diet of 1661 made an enactment in order "to show gratitude to the God of Hosts for the victories he had granted over the enemies of the country," by which it was ordered to apply the utmost severity of the laws to the Socinians who might be found concealed in the country. The words of that enactment are as follows:—" *Regratificantes Deo exercituum accepta beneficia anni præteriti, quæ nobis per tam insignes de hostibus victorias contulit, et volentes hanc divinam beneficentiam hac nostra gratitudine ulterius placare, cum hostes præternitatis filii ejus e dominiis nostris proscripserimus; sicuti id jam proxime præteritis comitiis constitutione anni 1658, cujus hic est titulus 'Secta Ariana seu Anabaptistica,' et constitutione anni 1659 fecimus; ita et nunc ne hæc secta Ariana ullo qua excogitari queat modo, ablecta in ditionibus nostris regni Poloniæ et magni ducatus Lithuanicæ remaneat, sed potius ut ad exequutionem deducantur leges prædictæ, ab omnibus officiis ac judiciis requirimus. In magno autem ducatu Lithuanicæ talibus actionibus inter causas compositi iudici in tribunali forum assignamus.*"

Reformation in Poland, and we are deeply convinced that it was of the most deplorable nature, and contributed greatly to its decline and final overthrow. In the first place, the daring theological speculations in which they indulged, their practice of trying the Scriptures by the test of weak human reason, and perverting the simple words of the sacred text into a forced sense, led very soon to conclusions subversive of revelation itself, which, unsettling the minds of men, struck terror into many timorous consciences, and made them seek a refuge in the absolute authority of the Roman church, which took advantage of these circumstances to support its doctrine concerning the Scripture. Indeed, as archbishop Tillotson justly observes, that although the Socinian writers have combated with great success the innovations of the Roman church, they have at the same time furnished that very church with strong arguments against the Reformation.* In

* "I do readily grant that the Socinian writers have managed the cause of the Reformation against the innovations and corruptions of the church of Rome, both in doctrine and practice, with great acuteness and advantage in many respects ; but I am sorry to have cause to say, that they have likewise put into their hands better and sharper weapons than ever they had before for the weakening and undermining of the Holy Scriptures, which Socinus hath indeed strongly asserted, had he not by a dangerous liberty, in imposing a foreign and forced sense upon particular texts, brought the whole into uncertainty."—Sermon preached at St. Lawrence Jewry, on the 6th January 1679.

the second place, such speculations, by creating doubt and uncertainty, produced indifference to the doctrines that separated the reformed churches from Rome. This circumstance may be regarded as one of, if not the chief of the causes which undermined Protestantism in Poland, because it could not be expected that persons impressed with that feeling would sacrifice their worldly interests for the sake of their religious persuasion, and much less that they would endure persecution on that score. This consideration, we think, may account for the facility with which Sigismund the Third succeeded in withdrawing so many families from Protestantism, by reserving to the Romanists offices and riches, and exposing as much as he could their antagonists to different kinds of persecution. In the third place, the dissensions which the anti-Trinitarian doctrines created in the reformed churches, in which they had originated, weakened, nay, paralyzed their force at a time when it was necessary to display the utmost degree of energy in combating such a formidable enemy as the Roman Catholic church, and contributed greatly to the irresolution which too often marked the proceeding of the Reformers.

State of morals
and learning
amongst the
Polish Socinians.

But deeply as we lament the errors of Socinianism, and the mischief done by that sect to the cause of the Reformation in Poland, it is our duty as historians to render full justice to the

learning, virtue, and piety which characterized the followers of that sect in our country ; merits which were acknowledged by friend and foe. Their polemical writings were also free from that virulence and scurrility which disgraced the controversial works of the period, and we may justly say with their most formidable but liberal antagonist, archbishop Tillotson,* that their defect

* Tillotson, after having combated Socinus and Schlichtyng, pronounces the following judgment on the Polish Socinians : —“ And yet to do right to the writers on that side, I must own, that generally they are a pattern of the fair way of disputing and of debating matters of religion, without heat and unseemly reflections upon their adversaries, in the number of whom I did not expect that the primitive fathers of the Christian church would be reckoned by them. They generally argue matters with that temper and gravity, with that freedom from passion and transport which becomes a serious and weighty argument ; and for the most part they reason closely and clearly, with extraordinary guard and caution, with great dexterity and decency, and yet with smartness and subtilty enough, with a very gentle heat and few hard words—virtues to be praised wherever they are to be found : yea, even in an enemy, and very worthy our imitation. In a word, they are the strongest managers of a weak cause, and which is ill-founded at the bottom, that perhaps ever yet meddled with controversy. In so much that some of the Protestant, and the generality of the Popish writers, and even of the Jesuits themselves, who pretend to all the reason and subtilty in the world, are in comparison of them but mere scolds and bunglers. Upon the whole matter they have but one, this great defect, that they want a good cause and truth on their side, which, if they had, they have reason and wit and temper to defend it.”—*Vide* Sermon on the Divinity

was, that they had a bad cause to defend. Their rules of morality were exceedingly strict, as they endeavoured to observe literally many precepts of the Gospel, without any regard to the circumstances that might make their application, if generally adopted, productive, instead of good, of great harm. Such, for instance, was the prohibition to use arms in any case whatever ; which, if observed, would at once have rendered Poland a prey to the Tartars and other barbarians, whose forays it was constantly called on to repel. We conclude with the just observation of Mosheim, that the Socinians, who took the greatest liberties with the expressions of the Scriptures when doctrine was concerned, accepted their literal sense in matters of morality.*

nity of our Blessed Saviour, preached in St. Lawrence Church, Jewry, January 6, 1679.

* "The nature and genius of Socinian theology have an immediate influence upon the moral system of that sect, and naturally lead its teachers to confine their rules of morality and virtue to the external duties and actions of life. On the one hand, they deny the influence of a divine spirit and power upon the minds of men ; and, on the other, they acknowledge that no mortal has such an empire over himself as to be able to suppress or extinguish his sinful propensities and corrupt desires. Hence they have no conclusion left but one, and that is, to declare all those true and worthy Christians, whose words and external actions are conformable to the precepts of divine law. It is at the same time remarkable, that another branch of their doctrine leads directly to the utmost severity in what relates to life and manners ; since they maintain, that the great
end

end of Christ's mission on earth was to reveal to mortals a new law, distinguished from all others by its unblemished sanctity and perfection. Hence it is that a great number of the Soci-nians have fallen into the fanatical rigours of the ancient Ana-baptists, and judge it absolutely unlawful to repel injuries, to take oaths, to inflict capital punishment on malefactors, to oppose the despotic proceedings of tyrannical magistrates, or even to acquire wealth by honest industry. But in this there is something exceedingly singular, and they are here indeed inconsistent with themselves: for while in matter of doctrine they take the greatest liberty with the expressions of Scripture, and pervert them in a violent manner to the defence of their peculiar tenets, they proceed quite otherwise when they come to prescribe rules of conduct from the precepts of the Gospel; then they understand the precepts literally, and apply them without the least distinction of time, persons, and circumstances."—Mosheim's *"Ecclesiast. History"*, vol. iv. p. 104, ed. 1811.

We have composed this chapter chiefly on the authority of Sandius, Bock, and Lubienietzki. We have not given any notice of this last-named writer, as his life and works are amply described in Bayle's *General Dictionary*, as well as in some other works of that kind. We shall only mention that Lubienietzki (born in 1623), who enjoyed a great and merited reputation over all Europe, and maintained an epistolary intercourse with the most eminent persons of his time, settled at Hamburg, after his expulsion from Poland; and that notwithstanding he was an exile, the king invested him with the office of the Polish diplomatical resident in that city. Lubienietzki's life was spent in literary labours, and in continual exertions to alleviate the sufferings of his exiled fellow sectarians. He was himself exposed to an unceasing persecution of the Lutheran clergy, from which his particular favour with the king of Denmark could not always shelter him. He perished in 1675, with his two daughters, at Hamburg, from poison, given, as it is supposed, at the instigation of his adversaries.

CHAPTER XV.

THE STATE OF PROTESTANTISM IN POLAND, FROM THE
END OF THE REIGN OF JOHN CASIMIR TILL THE
ACCESSION OF STANISLAV PONIATOWSKI, 1668—
1763.

THE cause of the Reformation in Poland was entirely crushed during the reign of John Casimir, and though there were still many Protestants in that country, Protestantism itself had ceased to be an element of national life. Every thing was placed under the control and influence of the Romanists, who, with the adroit policy peculiar to them, succeeded in representing their antagonists as the enemies of the country. At the diet of election in 1669, the Protestants failed not to represent their grievances, and to demand the strict maintenance of the laws which guaranteed religious freedom to all citizens. Although Wierzbowski, bishop of Poznania, at the instigation of the papal nuncio, pronounced in the cathedral church of Warsaw an anathema against heretics, declaring them unworthy of the protection of the law, and ordering their expulsion from the pro-

State of the
Protestants at
the accession
of Michel Wis-
niowietzki.

vince of Mazovia, the diet as usual confirmed the rights and liberties of the anti-Romanist confessions—a confirmation which experience showed to be nothing better than an unmeaning formality. It enacted, however, a new law, by which the progress of Protestantism was rendered impossible, as it prohibited the abjuration of Romanism under the penalty of death or banishment. The same diet enacted that the kings of Poland should be Roman Catholics, a condition which, although rendered indispensable by circumstances, was for the first time converted into a law.

Prohibition to abjure Romanism, and the profession of it rendered obligatory on the kings of Poland.

The newly elected monarch, Michel Wisniewietzki, had scarcely any control over the affairs of the country, his reign of four years being disturbed by civil war. He showed, however, on every opportunity an entire devotion to the interests of Rome, and took especial care not to confer any office or dignity on an anti-Romanist.*

* We must not omit mentioning a fact which reflects credit on the kind feelings of king Michel Wisniewietzki. When the Socinian refugees who had settled in Prussia were menaced with expulsion from that country, he addressed, in 1672, letters to the elector of Brandenburg, as well as to the most influential persons of that province, interceding in their favour; pleading the misfortunes of men belonging to the first families in Poland, and requesting toleration for them. This action, inspired by a feeling of true Christian charity, proves that the king Michel would not have been so bigoted had he been free from

Reign of John
Sobieski.

King John Sobieski, elected in 1674, confirmed without any hesitation all the rights of the anti-Romanist confessions; but although that heroic monarch was very adverse to religious persecution, he had no power of restraining that which the clergy and their devoted tools were carrying on in every part of Poland, without meeting with other resistance than the repugnance to such measures, which may be said to be innate in the national character. Several churches were taken away from the Protestants, either by arbitrary acts of the bishops, or by the decrees of tribunals, which were always ready to give their support to the clergy. We shall not trespass on the patience of our readers by enumerating instances of such cases, but we must give them an account of an event that took place in Poland during the reign of John Sobieski, and created a sensation throughout all Europe. Although it does not refer to the affairs of the Protestants, it shows the extraordinary influence which the Roman Catholic clergy had acquired, and the manner in which it was exercised.

Cazimir Lyszczyński, a noble and landowner

from the influence of the clergy. This unfortunate prince had indeed many excellent qualities, which would have been perhaps displayed to better advantage had he been elected in less troubled times, but we cannot here enter on the details of this unfortunate reign.

of Lithuania, a man of a very respectable character, was perusing a book entitled "*Theologia Naturalis*," by Henry Aldsted, a Protestant divine, and finding that the arguments which the author employed in order to prove the existence of divinity, were so confused that it was possible to deduce from them quite contrary consequences, he added on the margin the following words—" *ergo non est Deus*," evidently ridiculing the arguments of the author. This circumstance was found out by Brzoska, nuncio of Brest in Lithuania, a debtor of Lyszczyński, who denounced him as an atheist, delivering, as evidence of his accusation, a copy of the work with the above-mentioned annotation to Witwicki, bishop of Posnania, who took up this affair with the greatest violence.* He was zealously seconded by Zaluski, bishop of Kiof, a prelate known for

Judicial murder of Lyszczyński, for an alleged crime of Atheism.

* Vide larger "*Hist. de Jean Sobieski*," vol. iv. page 22. Dalairac and Salvandy maintains that Witwicki urged with great vehemence the punishment of Lyszczyński, in order to obtain by such a display of zeal a cardinal's hat. Mosheim says only Cazimir Lyszczyński, a "Polish knight, was capitally punished, suffering death at Warsaw in the year 1689, for denying the being and providence of God, but whether or no this accusation was well founded, can only be known by reading his trial, and examining the nature and proofs of the circumstances that were alleged against him." He adds in a note, that there was formerly in the library of Uffenbach a complete collection of all the papers relating to his trial, as well as an account of the proceedings against him.

his great learning and not devoid of merit in other respects, which however proved no check to religious fanaticism. The king, who was very far from countenancing such enormities, attempted to save the unfortunate Lyszczyński, by ordering that he should be judged at Vilna ; but nothing could shelter the unfortunate man against the fanatical rage of the clergy represented by the two bishops ; and the first privilege of a Polish noble, that he could not be imprisoned before his condemnation, and which had theretofore been sacredly observed even with the greatest criminals, was violated. On the simple accusation of his debtor, supported by the bishops, the affair was brought before the diet of 1689, before which the clergy, and particularly the bishop Zaluski, accused Lyszczyński of having denied the existence of God, and uttered blasphemies against the blessed Virgin and the saints. The unfortunate victim, terrified by his perilous situation, acknowledged all that was imputed to him, made a full recantation of all he might have said and written against the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church, and declared his entire submission to its authority. This was, however, of no avail to him, and his accusers were even scandalized that the diet permitted him to make a defence, and granted the term of three days for collecting evidence of his innocence, as the accusation of the clergy ought, in their judgment,

to be sufficient evidence on which to condemn the culprit. The fanaticism of the diet was excited in a most scandalous manner by the blasphemous representation that divinity should be propitiated by the blood of its offenders. The diet decreed that Lyszczyński should have his tongue pulled out, and then be beheaded and burnt. This atrocious sentence was executed, and the bishop Zaluski himself gives a relation of what he considered an act of piety and justice!* The king was horror-struck at this news, and exclaimed that the Inquisition could not do any thing worse. It is necessary, on this occasion, to render justice to Pope Innocent XI., who, instead of conferring a cardinal's hat on the bishop of Posnania, bitterly censured this disgraceful affair.

The elector of Saxony, who was elected king

* Zaluski gives the following account of this nefarious transaction: "After recantation the culprit was conducted to the scaffold, where the executioner tore with a burning iron the tongue and the mouth, *with which he had been cruel against God*; after which his hands, the instruments of the abominable production, were burnt at a slow fire, the sacrilegious paper was thrown into the flames; finally himself, that monster of his century, this deicide was thrown into the expiatory flames; expiatory if such a crime may be atoned for." Salvandy, "*Hist. de Pologne sous Jean Sobieski*," vol. iii. page 388. In our judgment, these lines of the learned bishop are as blasphemous as any thing that could be imputed to the unfortunate victim of his fanaticism.

Accession of Augustus the Second, elector of Saxony, who is obliged to promise not to confer any important dignities on anti-Romanists.

on the demise of John Sobieski in 1696, under the name of Augustus the Second, confirmed on his accession, and in the usual manner, the rights and liberties of the anti-Romanist confessions ; but a condition was added to the *Pacta Conventa*, that he should not grant to anti-Romanists any senatorial or other important dignities or offices. Although that monarch was by no means a bigoted Roman Catholic, but rather indifferent about religious matter, having changed his persuasion for the sake of the crown of Poland, he permitted the bishops to do all that they liked with the heretics, in order to gain them over to his political views.

The hopes of the Polish Protestants raised by the accession of Stanislaw Leszczynski, are destroyed by the battle of Pul-tava.

—The accession of Stanislaw Leszczynski, who was elected in 1704, after the expulsion of Augustus the Second by Charles the Twelfth, promised the Protestants an era of prosperity, in which they should peacefully enjoy all the rights and privileges which the constitution of the country guaranteed to them in common with the other citizens. These expectations were warranted by the enlightened mind of the newly elected monarch, as well as by the influence of Charles the Twelfth, to whom he owed his crown. The treaty of alliance between King Stanislaw and Charles the Twelfth, concluded at Warsaw on the 8th of November 1704, expressly guaranteed to the Protestants of Poland the full enjoyment of the rights and liberties secured to them by the ancient

laws of the country, abolishing all the restrictions established in later times.* The hopes of the Protestants, who were persecuted by the troops of Peter the Great as partisans of Stanislav Leszczyński,† were, together with the fortunes of Charles the Twelfth, overthrown at the battle of Pultava. That event restored the influence of Augustus the Second, who, by the aid of Peter the Great, repossessed himself of the throne of Poland, which Stanislav was obliged to vacate and quit the country. The Protestants foreseeing the bad consequences which were likely to accrue to their cause, tried to avert them by the establishment of a union amongst themselves, and their delegates met for this purpose at Warsaw in April 1710. They agreed and entered into a written obligation, that a general synod of all the Protestant confessions in Poland should be assembled at Thorn, in order to consult touching the good of the church. As a preparation for that general meeting, several synods were held in different parts of Poland, of which the most important was one that assembled at Jendrychow, in Grand Poland, on the 22d July 1710. It was

Assemblies and synods of Protestants, in order to deliberate about the means of counteracting the persecution to which they were exposed.

* The Protestants published at Berlin, in 1708, a work in which all the rights and liberties of the anti-Romanists were developed, entitled "*Jura et Libertates Dissidentium in Religione Christiana in Regno Poloniae et M. D. Lithuaniae, ex legibus Regni et aliis Monumentis excerptae.*"

† Vide page 334.

resolved that the superintendent of the Helveto-Bohemian churches of Grand Poland, Daniel Ernst Jablonski, should be entrusted with the choice of place and time of the future general synod, and that he should be likewise authorized to enter, with the other provinces, into the necessary arrangements for that general convocation.

By the exertions of Jablonski,* a synod assem-

* Jablonski (Ernst), son of Peter Figulus, surnamed Jablonski, from his native place, Jablon in Moravia, who was superintendent of the Helveto-Bohemian churches of Grand Poland, and grandson by his mother of the celebrated Amos Comenius, was born in 1660. Having received his first education at Leszno, he was sent in 1680 to the University of Oxford, where he remained till 1683. On his return from England, in that year, he took orders and became chaplain to the governor of Magdeburg. He remained there till 1686, in which year he was appointed rector of the school of Leszno, and minister of the Polish congregation there. In 1691 he was called to Königsberg by the elector of Brandenburg, and nominated his chaplain; from that time he remained at the Prussian court till his death, although he was nominated, in 1699, senior of the Helveto-Bohemian churches of Grand Poland, as well as of the reformed churches of Lithuania. He was a man of great learning, and zealously devoted to the interests of his church, which he promoted by his writings as well as by every possible exertion. He constantly urged the Polish Protestants to reclaim at the diets the rights that had been snatched from them, and exerted himself to obtain the same object by the intercession of foreign powers. He obtained, in 1700, through the interest of the elector of Brandenburg, a stipend for two Polish students of divinity at the University of Leyden. He was during a long

bled at Thorn on the 3d of October 1712, when, in addition to many ministers and nobles of the Helveto-Bohemian confession in Grand Poland, several Lutherans of the same province, and the superintendent of the reformed churches of Samogitia, were present. A gentleman from Little Poland brought a letter from the superintendent of the reformed churches of that province, lamenting that he was prevented by the great persecution to which he was exposed from sending delegates to the synod. This synod resolved, 1. That as its chief object was to provide for the maintenance of the rights of the Protestants and the liberty of conscience, and as the Lutheran delegates assured this assembly that their congregations were not averse from a political union of the Protestant confessions for the attainment of the above-mentioned object, this matter should be deliberated on in the provincial synods, in order to prepare for the discussion of it at a general one. 2d. That the nuncios to the diet be requested to promote the enactment of a law by which all outrages on the rights and liberties of the anti-Romanists should be put an end to. 3d. That D. E. Jablonski should deliberate with

time president of the Scientific Society of Berlin, and he left many works on different subjects, of which the most important are "*Historia Consensus Sandomiriensis*," Berol. 1731; and two works about the affair of Thorn, 1724.

the Lutheran delegates concerning the best means of attaining the desired object at the next diet, and of preventing fresh persecution on the part of the Romanists.

Case of Unruh. Such persecution was indeed very heavy, and an important instance of it happened in 1715. Sigismund Unruh, a Protestant noble, starost of Obornik and chamberlain of the king, wrote amongst the extracts which he was making from several works the following passage:—"Has, then, the salutary truth descended from heaven in order to scatter on our earth the principle of eternal errors, wars, hatred, and discord?" This passage, stolen from his closet, was presented by a personal enemy to the tribunal of Piotrkow as a *corpus delicti*, on which he founded an accusation against Unruh of having blasphemed the Roman Catholic church. Supposing even that Unruh had meant, by this passage, that evangelical truth had been perverted by the Roman church, still, as he had neither published nor communicated it to others, the mere composition of it could not be construed into a criminal action. Unruh in vain protested his innocence, and that he had no intention of insulting the Roman Catholic church: but the tribunal condemned him, for the crime of blasphemy, to have his tongue torn out, his right hand cut off, and to be thrown into the flames, together with the manuscript. Unruh, by a timely retreat, avoided the execu-

tion of that iniquitous sentence, which was annulled by the next diet, which declared him innocent, and restored his property adjudged by the tribunal to the crown and to his accuser.*

The persecutions to which the anti-Romanist confessions were exposed previously to the reign of Augustus the Second had not been sanctioned by the laws of the country, but were infractions of the constitution, and crimes that ought to have been punished, had the laws relating to them been enforced. There were some legal restrictions made in the royal towns, but the nobles possessed legally, although not practically, a complete liberty of religious exercise. It was under the reign of Augustus the Second, however, that the religious liberties of the country were legally restricted, and under the following extraordinary circumstances :

After the return of Augustus the Second, the country was for some years in a very disturbed state, in consequence of the inroads of some partisans of Leczynski, the forayes of the Tartars, and revolts in the Ukraine. Augustus, in order to maintain his authority, kept a large body of

* It is said that this case was submitted to the Sorbonne under a feigned name, and that this learned body decided that the decree was contrary to the law of God and man ; it is a fact that the pope declared the sentence null and void on account of the incompetence of the tribunal by which it was given.

Saxon troops in Poland, who permitted themselves great excesses, and frequently acted as if they were in an enemy's country. This naturally created great ferment: a confederation against the Saxon troops was established in 1715 at Tarnograd under Stanislaw Leduchowski, who was elected its marshal, and a war was carried on with the royal troops. At last, Peter the Great, who in 1716 had an interview with Augustus at Dantzic, offered his mediation between the king and the nation, and a treaty was concluded on the 3d November 1716, at Warsaw, between the Russian ambassador, prince Dolgoruki, acting on behalf of the confederation, and the plenipotentiaries of the king, Count Fleming, Szaniawski, bishop of Cujavia (afterwards of Cracow), and Chomentowski, palatine of Mazovia. Szaniawski, who owed his elevation to the influence of Peter the Great, and was entirely devoted to his interest, put into the treaty a clause which may be considered as the death-warrant of the national independence of Poland. It enjoined the reduction of the army of Poland from 80,000 to 18,000, a number entirely inadequate for the defence of an extensive country, having a long line of frontiers to guard against continual aggressions, from which it was not free even in times of peace. Yet, although the safety of Poland was recklessly sacrificed by Szaniawski, whom we have no hesitation to call a traitor to his

Treaty of Warsaw, concluded under the influence of Russia, prejudicial to the Polish Protestants and to the interests of the nation at large.

country, he purchased by it a signal triumph for Rome over its antagonists. The fourth article of the same treaty ordained, " that as it is not allowed to the dissident in the Christian religion to have any churches with a free religious service in them, except such as were built before the enactment of the laws of 1632, 1648, 1668, 1674, and as it is permitted only to those dissidents who inhabit the towns and other places of the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania to have in their dwellings private service, nevertheless without singing and sermons, therefore, in restoration of all the ancient laws, and with respect to the Mazovian exceptions, it is enacted, by the authority of the present treaty, that all Protestant churches which may be found to have been built in contravention to the above-mentioned laws, either in towns, market places, or villages, and even in the houses of the nobles, shall be destroyed without opposition ; and those who entertain such different opinions about religion shall not have any meetings or assemblies, either in public or private, for the sake of preaching or singing, as was unlawfully and improperly done during the Swedish war. Those who shall act contrary to this regulation shall be punished, for the first time with a fine, for the second with imprisonment, for the third with banishment. Foreign ministers shall be entitled to have divine service performed in their dwellings for them-

selves and their household, but if any natives assist at it they shall be subject to the above-mentioned penalties."

The policy of Russia was very remarkable on that occasion, for it accomplished at once two great objects ; it disarmed Poland, and provided a pretence for future interference in the affairs of the country, by creating a discontented party, sure to be oppressed at home, and therefore eager to look for a protector abroad. Experience has proved that this policy was but too well calculated. We cannot, however, blame Peter for having sacrificed Poland to his views for the aggrandizement of his own country, for he was the czar of Russia and not the king of Poland ; but what terms shall we apply to his wretched tool Szaniawski ? Yet we must not judge him even without consideration. There can be no doubt that, as a Pole, he was a traitor to his country, but as a bishop of the Roman church he may be excused ; for what has the Roman church to do with the political advantages or disadvantages of a nation, which depend on so many circumstances of a nature different and variable, according to the localities, forms of government, and external and internal relations of the country ? The interest of Rome is clear and unchangeable ; it is the establishment and propagation of what it calls truth, and the destruction of what it calls error, and this without any

regard, whether the political interests of separate nations and countries be benefited or injured by it. This was probably the principle which actuated Szaniawski, and if so, it was the immutable interest of Rome, and not the individual who asserted it on that occasion, that struck that deadly blow to the independence of Poland. Augustus, too, betrayed on that occasion the interests of the country in a manner that cannot be adequately named; and it has been recently proved, that as early as the year 1710 he entertained a project of partitioning Poland with Peter the Great, which he did not relinquish till his death.* The other ministers who had signed

* The idea of partitioning Poland was started by Peter the Great, and the scheme of it was composed in 1710 by the Prussian minister Ilgen. The country was to be divided between the czar, the king of Prussia, and the elector of Saxony, then king of Poland, who was to be made hereditary monarch of the part left to him. Peter was to occupy Poland with his troops, and then announce the scheme to the most influential persons of the land, with the declaration that all who should oppose it should be treated as persons opposed to the true interest of their country. In order to gain the assent of Austria, the throne of Spain was to be guaranteed to the archduke Charles, and that of Holland by securing to it the possessions of the Barriere towns.

We have extracted this notice from "*Die Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeige*," for the 6th April 1837, No. 54, 55, containing a review of Dr. Fred. Förster's work, entitled "*Die Höfe und Cabinette Europas*." A similar project was mooted by the same king till his death.

Opposition of several eminent Roman Catholics to the restriction of the rights and liberties of the anti-Romanists.

that treaty were tools either of the king or of the bishop. Even before the conclusion of the treaty the clergy began to promulgate the article quoted above, which they stuck at the doors of many churches, declaring it a law of the country. This produced not only great alarm amongst the Protestants, but a general indignation amongst the better part of the Roman Catholics, and protests poured in from all sides against the measure. Thus Casimir Sapieha, palatine of Vilna, addressed to the marshal of the general confederation, Leduchowski, a protest in the name of the commissioners of Lithuania, elected for the confirmation of the above-mentioned treaty, against any infraction of the rights and liberties of the dissidents, because, as he observed, if we wish to establish peace we must render justice to all. The following senators of Lithuania, prince Radziwill, chancellor, prince Czartoryski, vice-chancellor, Kocioll, grand treasurer, and Vladislav Sapieha, palatine of Brest, addressed a similar remonstrance to the marshal, stating that the dissidents had always co-operated with the greatest zeal towards the public welfare of the country. Casimir Sapieha, palatine of Vilna, addressed a second letter to the same purport, signed not only by himself, but by twenty-seven members of the Lithuanian commission for pacification. The Lithuanian army sent by its commander, Stanis-

lav Potocki, a representation in favour of the dissidents, stating that they numbered in their ranks a great number of dissident gentlemen who had defended the rights and liberties of the country. Skovzewski, marshal of the confederation of Posnania and Kalish, also protested in the name of these provinces against any infraction of the rights of the dissidents, which, as the representation above-mentioned expressed it, were confirmed by the most sacred oaths. But the most remarkable of all these remonstrances, and which we mention with a feeling of pride, that there was in our country a Roman Catholic prelate who, at a time when the Jesuits entirely ruled the country by their influence, had the courage to raise his voice for the cause of justice and humanity, was that of Ancuta, bishop of Missionopol, coadjutor of Vilna, and referendary of the grand duchy of Lithuania. He addressed to Szaniawski a letter, dated Brest, the 24th October 1716, urging in strong terms that the restriction which might be established against the dissidents should not be extended to those of Lithuania, because, said he, "I must confess that we find in them the principal defenders of our rights." *

Noble conduct
of a Roman
Catholic bi-
shop on that
occasion.

These numerous representations received a due

* All these letters are printed in "Friesse's Beyträge," vol. ii. page 291 and foll.

Leduchowski's efforts to maintain the rights and privileges of the dissidents or anti-Romanists are eluded by Szaniawski's artful interpretations.

consideration from the marshals of the confederation, Stanislaw Leduchowski for the kingdom of Poland, and Christopher Sulistrowski for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; and the third article of the instructions given by them to the commissioners for the conclusion of the pacification treaty says :—

“ The rights of the dissidents shall be maintained unincroached on, according to the ancient laws and customs of the country, and without any grievance or innovation.”

The answer of the royal ministers given to that article was as follows :—

“ As to the fourth article : the act of the treaty relating to religion has not infringed in any way on the ancient rights of the dissidents. But as, during the Swedish war and the internal disturbances, many abuses contrary to the ancient laws had crept in, the vigour of those laws is again renewed, in order that such abuses do not extend further, and that the limits of the law be not overstepped, but without any prejudice to the peace amongst the dissidents, and the equality of condition in respect to equal rights and equal punishments.”

This casuistical interpretation, which could be easily construed in a manner suitable to the views and interests of the persecuting party, could not satisfy those who honestly and earnestly wished to see the rights of their Protestant fellow-citizens.

established on a sure footing. They demanded, therefore, at the diet of pacification that the fourth article should be cancelled ; but Szaniawski and the other royal ministers assured them that it was designed only for the abolition of certain abuses which had grown up during the last war, and by no means for the prejudice of the rights of the dissidents. Notwithstanding this explanation, Leduchowski presented the project of a law by which the most ample security was granted to the rights and liberties of the dissidents, as it expressly stated that all the rights, liberties, and privileges confirmed by the enactments of 1573, 1575, 1587, 1627, 1632, 1638, 1648, 1650, 1654, 1655, 1667, 1685, should be confirmed, all ordinances or regulations to the contrary notwithstanding.*

* Leduchowski was a gentleman of large fortune, but entirely free from ambition. He did not take any part in the struggle between the partizans of Augustus the Second and Stanislaw Leszczynski, and having refused the favours of both these monarchs, he always lived on his estates. Enjoying the highest confidence of his countrymen, he was elected to several offices, as, for instance, deputy to the tribunals, marshal of the elections, &c. &c. Having no children, he made a will, by which he bequeathed his property to relations, churches, and to the poor. But when he saw the country in danger, his patriotism overcame his attachment to his relations and all charitable and devotional intentions; he cancelled his will, and devoted all his fortune to the maintenance of the troops of the Confederation. His patriotism was unalloyed by the notions that spring from political or personal hatred, and he constantly opposed those who wished to dethrone the monarch, having himself no other object than to secure the liberty

Nothing certainly could be more explicit than this project ; but the honest and patriotic intentions of Leduchowski, which if executed would have averted many calamities from the country, were thwarted by the artful bishop, who succeeded in substituting for Leduchowski's project the following explanation of the fourth article of the treaty : " We maintain all the old rights and privileges of the dissidents in religion, but all abuses shall be abolished after the preliminary judicial proceedings prescribed by the ancient laws."

The diet of 1717, which lasts only a few hours, confirms the treaty of Warsaw, 1716.

The diet of 1717, by which the treaty of pacification was confirmed, is known in the annals of Poland by the nickname of the Dumb Diet, as it lasted only seven hours, during which the treaty was read and signed. This extraordinary haste may be ascribed to a great anxiety for pacifying the troubles which had for several years disturbed the country, and to the fear lest the accomplishment of such a desideratum should be thwarted by the dissolution of the diet, through the veto of

liberty and peace of his country.—Vide "*Ruthiev's Hist. de l'Anarchie de la Pologne*," livre ii. Such was the eminent patriot, the last who stood up for the rights of his fellow-citizens whose creed was not his own, and the religious feeling by which he was guided in the disposal of his property, when its sacrifice was not required by the wants of the country, sufficiently proves that he did not act on that occasion from principles of religious indifference, miscalled philosophical.

some nuncios—as had unfortunately been the case with several diets during the reign of Augustus the Second, which was very likely to take place should the minds of the nuncios become excited by discussion.

The Protestants, alarmed at the danger with which they were threatened, addressed a petition to the monarch against the measure, and the king declared by a royal diploma, on the 3d February 1717, that the article in question did not prejudice the ancient rights and privileges of the dissidents established and confirmed by the enactments of 1573, 1632, 1648, 1668, 1674, and 1697.

The king gives a solemn promise to the Protestants that their rights shall remain uninjured.

Thus the first legal attack on the anti-Romanist confessions was made in a surreptitious manner and in spite of the manifest repugnance of the nation, although the explanation exacted by Leduchowski, as well as that which was given by the royal diploma, seemed to leave to those confessions a full liberty of religious exercises. The word “abuses,” however, which, according to the explanation of Szaniawski, were alone to be abolished, gave the greatest latitude to Romanist persecution, as all religious transactions not belonging to their own church were considered by its zealous followers as so many abuses that ought to be abolished.

Although the royal diploma and the explanation given to Leduchowski might be considered as authorizing the Protestants to hold their usual

The Protestant synod of Dantzic, in 1718, present a petition to the monarch and the states, enumerating the grievances of the anti-Romanist confessions.

synods, it seems that they entertained fears lest the general synod, which they convoked at Dantzic on the 2d September 1718, should be construed into an abuse and prosecuted as one, because it was held, not publicly, but secretly, in a private house. There were delegates of the Helvetian and Augustan churches from all parts of Poland. The synod was presided over by Christopher Arnold, superintendent of the Lutheran churches of Grand Poland, and Bonaventura Kuvnatowski, royal chamberlain, belonging to the Helveto-Bohemian church. Its principal resolutions were as follows : 1st. That, considering the deplorable state of the church, there be presented to the monarch and also to the diet, a petition containing all the grievances of the dissidents, and requesting that a special commission be appointed to investigate and redress such grievances, which petition shall be published in Polish, Latin, and German. 2d. That the churches of all the Protestant confessions in Poland and Lithuania communicate amongst themselves in every important case, and that for such purpose certain persons be chosen in every province. 3d. That the union with the followers of the Greek church, concluded in 1599, be restored.* In consequence of these resolutions, the Protestants published their petition, entitled “ *Libellus supplex Serenissimo Augusto*

* Vide p. 139.

Secundo Regi Poloniae, &c. et Illustrissimis Reipublicae ordinibus anno 1718, humillime exhibitus," &c. &c. They represented, amid a great number of cases of persecution, that notwithstanding all the constitutional guarantees of religious liberty, "the Roman Catholic clergy acted as if all the Protestant churches, schools, and every thing relating to the Protestant faith, entirely depended on their sufferance." That they cited the Protestants before their consistorial courts, which had no right to judge such cases; and, being at the same time parties and judges, pronounced the most injurious decrees against the Protestants, which they executed either by force or fraud. The petition enumerated many cases of schools and churches recently taken from the Protestants or destroyed, as, for instance, the church of Kempno, which was destroyed, and a Jewish house built on the place where it stood. The Protestants were not allowed to baptize their children without the permission of a Roman Catholic clergyman. A remarkable instance of the principles by which the Roman clergy were guided in their proceedings against the Protestants is mentioned in the same petition: "When a Protestant church was taken by the Roman clergy, the authorities of the place represented to the bishop of Posnania that such a transaction was contrary to the laws and the constitution of the country; he answered, 'that though all the country

should differ from him in that point, he would never desist from the extirpation of the dissidents.' ”

The petition concludes by supplicating the monarch and the diet to redress all these abuses, and to restore to the Protestants all the rights, privileges, and liberties secured to them by the constitution and the laws of the country.* At the same time the synod adopted the preposterous measure, of seeking the interference of the foreign courts : a measure not only objectionable in its very nature, but also impolitic, because although in a country torn by parties, like Poland, it was but natural that some of them should recur for assistance to a foreign power, it ought to have been remembered that the weakest only would bear the blame of that unpatriotic proceeding. According to that resolution there were sent as delegates Dobrogost Kurnatowski

* This petition was answered by Casimir Ancuta, canon of Vilna, and brother of the bishop, whose intercession in behalf of the anti-Romanists we have mentioned, in a work entitled “*Jus plenum Religionis in Regno Poloniæ et M. D. Lithuanix*,” replete with the grossest abuse and misrepresentations. As a specimen of his argument, we may mention that he calls the Protestants “the German Turks.” It was published at Vilna, 1719 ; but the author communicated it in manuscript to the members of the diet of Grodno, 1718, to whom it was dedicated ; and the work, as well as the author, contributed greatly to the exclusion from that diet of the only Protestant nuncio—an event we are going to describe in the text.

to the court of Berlin, and Sitkowski, minister of Leszno, to the English court and nation.*

It was the same year (1718) that the paramount influence which the clergy had obtained over public opinion was manifested in an unequivocal manner. We have described the patriotic efforts of Leduchowski, and many eminent persons, to prevent the persecution of the anti-Romanist confessions. They had been actuated not only by a sentiment of justice, but also by principles of sound policy, which forbade the wanton alienation from fealty of loyal citizens by an unjust abridgment of their rights, and pointed out the danger of converting them into discontented subjects, easily to be rendered subservient to the hostile views of foreign powers. This spirit of justice and prudence which animated the best persons of the nation, did not pervade the bulk of the equestrian order, educated almost exclusively in the schools of the Jesuits, and entirely ruled by their influence. Thus, at the diet of Grodno, which opened on the 3d October 1718, the fanaticism of the nuncios was excited by Zebrowski, canon of Vilna, who, in a sermon preached before the assembled states, ascribed all the evils to which the country had been ex-

Illegal exclusion of a Protestant nuncio by the diet of Grodno, on account of his religion.

* A subscription for the Polish churches was raised by Sitkowski in England, vide "*The case of the Reformed Episcopal Churches in Grand Poland and Polish Prussia considered, in a Sermon on 1 Jonah iv. ver. 11.*" London, 1716, 8vo.

posed, such as foreign and domestic wars, pestilence, &c., to the toleration of the Protestants, whom he called "ravenous wolves," and exhorted the states not to admit them to their deliberations. Whilst the election of the marshal of the diet was proceeding, and Piotrowski, nuncio of Vielun, belonging to the Reformed confession, and the only anti-Romanist member of the diet, was called to give his vote, Ancuta, canon of Vilna,* who did not in any way belong to the diet, protested against Piotrowski's taking part in the deliberation of that assembly, maintaining that as a Protestant he could have no vote. This protest created a great disturbance; all the nuncios rose from their seats, and silence could not be restored for an hour. However, Ancuta's protestation found but little opposition in the chamber. Doenhof, field-general of Lithuania, observed that it was not right to deprive of his vote a nuncio lawfully elected, and not accused of any crime. The nuncio Karwowski demanded that the whole legislature of the country should decide whether it was absolutely necessary that a senator and a nuncio should be a Roman Catholic, because the laws of the country had established that condition only for the person of the monarch. Piotrowski strove to prevent the election of the

* Vide note, page 434.

marshal, by protesting against the violence which was done to him ; but when, notwithstanding that protest, the marshal was elected, Piotrowski demanded again to speak, but was not permitted to do so. On the second day, when Piotrowski attempted to exercise his rights of a member of the diet, it was declared to him that he was not a nuncio, and could not speak. Several nuncios in vain addressed the assembly against such a violation of right and law, and Piotrowski himself vainly protested and attempted to speak ; his voice was silenced by a general outcry, and he was compelled to leave the hall of the assembly. Nothing remained to him but to leave the diet, and the Protestants were apprised by that event, that although by the laws of Poland they enjoyed all the rights of the other citizens of the country, those laws became a dead letter when they were opposed to those of Rome.

The Protestants after this became even more active, and convoked several synods, in order to deliberate about the means of recovering their rights and liberties. Thus they had two provincial synods, at Kieydany in Lithuania, 1719, and a general one at Dantzic. But the more the Protestants exerted themselves to recover their rights and liberties, the more violent the Romanist hatred against them became, particularly as the former were constantly incited from abroad to resist oppression, although the intercessions of

Foreign interference in favour of Protestants serves only to render worse their position.

the foreign powers, by irritating the national feeling, served only to increase the persecution of the Protestants. Peter the Great did not fail to take advantage of these circumstances, and although we have seen him, at the date of the treaty of 1716, abandoning the interests of the anti-Romanist confessions to the fury of Szaniawski for the bribe of the reduction of the national army, he addressed, in 1724, a strong remonstrance to the king and the states of Poland against the oppression of these very anti-Romanist confessions, stating "that he was particularly bound to do so, as the treaty of Warsaw, concluded in 1716 under his mediation and guarantee, was misinterpreted into a pretence for the persecution of which he complained."

Affair of
Thorn.

In this same year, 1724, an event occurred which filled Europe with horror, and disgraced Poland, although scarcely any country can boast to have been free from such enormities.

We have had several opportunities of relating that the towns of Polish Prussia, being inhabited by a large majority of Protestants, constantly opposed the introduction of Jesuits, whose inviolable rule of policy was to form their principal establishments amidst anti-Romanist populations; we have also seen that the above-mentioned towns, notwithstanding their opposition to the encroachments of Romanism, proved steady in their loyalty to the kings of Poland, even

when the Roman Catholic population forgot their allegiance and joined a Protestant invader. Such was the case during the invasion of Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden (1655-57), when the Protestants of these towns remained firm in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, the bigoted John Casimir, at a time when he was abandoned by the greatest part of his Roman Catholic subjects. During the invasion of Charles the Twelfth, the town of Thorn distinguished itself by its fidelity to the cause of Augustus the Second, and valiantly resisted the Swedes. The Jesuits, after a long opposition, established a college of their order in that town, and omitted no opportunity of harassing the Protestants, the great majority of the population, and this chiefly by means of their pupils, who were inspired by them with a fanatical hatred of Protestantism. It was natural that the Protestants should be on their guard against such uncompromising enemies, and that such a state of things should continually produce collisions, which could not but increase the mutual hatred and ill-will of the opposite parties. Thus, in 1717, the Jesuits intended to make a public procession through the streets of the city, but the authorities of the town shut the streets with chains, and made every preparation to oppose force by force. The Jesuit Marczewski particularly distinguished himself by seizing every opportunity of vexing the Protestants; and

The introduction of Jesuits in that town produces continual vexations to the Protestant inhabitants.

when Arnd, professor of the Protestant school of Thorn, published a literary program, Marczewski contrived to find out that it contained injuries against the Roman Catholic church, and threatened the city council with prosecution. The Jesuit was bribed with a sum of money into silence, but Arnd, not feeling secure at Thorn after such an attack, left the town.

In 1724, Geret, *senior collegii ministrorum*, published a work, in which he maintained that religion and politics should be kept separate, and that neither clergymen should mingle in civil affairs, nor laymen interfere with those of religion. The Jesuits, who acted quite in a contrary manner, considered it as a reflection on their conduct, and denounced the work as a libel against the pope and the Polish nation. Geret prevented condemnation by a voluntary exile. Ephraim Oloff, too, a learned minister,* was obliged to do the same, for having expressed a wish that the whole population of Thorn might be subject to the Gospel.

The pupils of the Jesuits' college excite, by their aggressions on the Protestant inhabitants, a riot, during which the college is sacked by a mob.

Such was the disposition of mind amongst the inhabitants of Thorn, when the following event, which produced a most painful sensation throughout all Europe, took place. A Roman Catholic procession was going round the church-yard of St.

* He is the author of some valuable contributions to the literary history of Poland.

James' church, in the new town (16 July.) There was an ordinance that all persons, without regard to their religious persuasion, should uncover their heads in sign of respect when they met with the host publicly carried. Many children of the Protestant inhabitants were standing outside of the walls of the church-yard when the procession was going on within its enclosure. They took off their hats when the host approached, but this sign of respect to a Roman Catholic religious ceremony shown by Protestants did not satisfy the students of the Jesuits' college, and one of them exacted that the Protestants should bend their knees, and when it was refused, he attacked and ill-treated one of the boys. The Jesuits did not restrain the violence of their pupils, and the procession finished without any disturbance. But the same evening the Jesuits' pupils renewed an attack on the students of the Protestant college, whom they assailed with stones and sticks; the Protestants, being in a smaller number, gave way to their assailants, but the town guards dispersed the rioters, of whom one was seized and imprisoned. Pater Czyzewski, the rector of the Jesuits' college, immediately summoned the president of the town, Roesner, to give up the rioter, but this was refused, as the council of the city was to judge the affair on the following day. The Jesuit students, however, made an attempt to deliver their comrade by

force, and, armed with swords, attacked the burghers of the city, and a murderous riot was on the point of beginning, when the town guards succeeded in dispersing the rioters. On this occasion they captured the leader of the students, and repelled the attack of his comrades when they tried to liberate him. Meanwhile, the city council ordered the student first taken to be set free, but did not liberate the second prisoner. The Romanists in the evening seized on a Protestant student who was quietly standing in his nightgown before the door of the house in which he lived, treated him very ill, and carried him to the Jesuits' college, uttering threats against his life. The burgomaster called on the rector to liberate him; and the rector, in his turn, demanded that the rioter still in custody should be previously liberated; thereby declaring that he approved in some respects of the violence of his students. The populace, composed of Protestants, which had theretofore taken no part in these proceedings, then assembled in crowds before the Jesuits' college, but still remained quiet. The pupils, however, began to throw stones at them from the windows of the college; the people became irritated, forced an entrance into the college, and are said to have delivered the Protestant student from his prison, though it is very likely that the Jesuits themselves, afraid of the incensed crowd, liberated him.

Meanwhile, the town militia having arrived, drove back the crowd and surrounded the college. About eight in the evening, when order was completely restored, the students, thinking themselves secured by the presence of the militia, which guarded the entrance of the college, assailed the people, who were dispersing quietly, with stones, and even fire-arms. This produced a violent excitement amongst the crowd, which furiously attacked the college. The Jesuits, in alarm, sounded the tocsin ; but notwithstanding the opposition of the town militia and the firing kept up from the college, the populace took possession of the premises, broke into pieces the furniture which they found, and having carried it into the street, burnt it. No murder or pillage was, however, committed. A stronger detachment of the town militia guards, and some regular troops, having arrived, the people dispersed without resistance, and at eleven o'clock order was completely restored. Such is the report presented by the municipality of Thorn to the supreme tribunal of towns at Warsaw. It is, however, our duty to give the account of the Romanist writers, who maintain that the people, having taken possession of the college, broke the legs of a crucifix, cut into pieces the altar of the immaculate conception of the Holy Virgin, pierced with swords the image of the Saviour, as well as those of some of the saints ; that the

host was thrown upon the ground, and that the Jesuit who tried to prevent the sacrilege was threatened with death. The greatest insult, however, was, according to that relation, offered to an image of the blessed Virgin, which was torn to pieces and thrown into the fire "amidst scoffing exclamations;" they maintain, also, "that every thing was pillaged, and threats uttered of massacring the Jesuits and all the Roman Catholics; that the president Roesner had not done his duty on that occasion by adopting the necessary measures for quelling it, and that the vice-president, Zernicke, even countenanced the disturbers instead of quelling the riot."

All these accusations are denied by Protestant writers, who condemn the riot and the outrages committed by the populace; but maintain that there was no truth in the burning of the images. Some even supposed that the mutilation of the images to have been the work of the Jesuits themselves, or their agents, that thereby they might excite hatred against the Protestants. We think, however, that it is very likely that some images, on that occasion, were destroyed by the Protestants.

Agitation set up by the Jesuits over all the country, in order to excite the public opinion against the Protestants of Thorn.

The Jesuits spread all over Poland a printed account of what they gave out as a sacrilege, representing to the nation the insult offered to the Divine Majesty, calling out for exemplary vengeance on the Protestants of Thorn, and

recommending that the churches and schools should be taken from them, and, together with the government of the city, be handed over to Romanists. Their narrative, although supported by no other evidence than that of the accusing party, produced a strong effect on public opinion, and the consequent excitement was so great, that at the elections which were then proceeding, the constituencies enjoined their representatives not to begin any transaction before the offended Majesty of God should be avenged. No kind of agitation, indeed, was omitted, that could inspire fanatical hatred against the Protestants of Thorn. Agents, sent for that purpose, circulated all over the country prints which represented the sacrilege, and exhibited images damaged by fire. Public fasts and prayers were ordered by the clergy, and the pulpit, as well as the confessional, were converted into powerful engines of agitation.

There was no lack of miracles; nay, it was said, that the broken images had emitted blood, &c. Against this vast and organized system of agitation, the Protestants of Thorn had no other defence than their innocence; and they were so thoroughly convinced of the goodness of their cause, that those most easily alarmed contemplated only a pecuniary fine levied on the city for the damage done to the college of the Jesuits.

The king ordered this affair to be investigated

A special commission is appointed for the investigation of that affair.

Illegality and injustice of its proceedings.

by a special commission, consisting exclusively of Romanists. It was composed of the bishops of Cujavia and Plock, the palatines of Culm, Pomerania, and Marienburg, and several other dignitaries, civil as well as ecclesiastical. The proceedings of the commission were opened on the 18th of September, and went on with some order as long as the bishop of Plock (Zaluski) and the palatine of Culm (Rybinski), who wished to conduct the investigation on the principles of right and law, were present ; but as soon as they had retired, with some other members animated by similar feelings, all the proceedings were directed by the bishop of Cujavia and prince Lubomirski, chamberlain of the crown,* and it was done with a complete disregard of every principle of truth and justice. The witnesses presented by the city council were rejected as accomplices, but all those who appeared to give evidence against the accused party were admitted, without any regard to their characters, and the most absurd statements accepted, as soon as they were confirmed by an oath. The Jesuits selected the persons who were to be accused. The evidence was often contradictory ; and when some witness did not give the evidence required, the Jesuits interfered,

* It is said that the Jesuits promised Lubomirski that a miracle would restore his weak sight ; as none, however, took place, they ascribed it to the insufficiency of his zeal.

calling out, "you have said otherwise to us." When a woman retracted her evidence given against the burgher, Wuntsch, the retraction was rejected, because she had confirmed her former deposition by an oath, and Wuntsch was executed. Even the evidence of witnesses who confessed that they had not seen the facts which they stated, but had only heard of them, was considered conclusive.

On the 28th of September there were thirty persons in prison, several of whom having proved an *alibi* were discharged; and each of the accused that consented to become a Romanist was immediately liberated.

The commission retiring from Thorn left sixty-six persons in prison. The town requested permission to send a deputation to Warsaw to defend its cause, and it obtained leave to send two delegates. It demanded also, that the Jesuits should be cited before the Royal Court, for having suborned witnesses and procured false depositions. This was refused, and the protest of the town against such illegal proceedings was not received by any tribunal in Poland.

The affair was presented to the diet which had assembled at Warsaw on the 2d of October, but it sent it to the Assessorial Court.* This high

The affair is brought before the Assessorial Court of Justice; measures

* The Assessorial Court was composed of the chancellor, the vice-chancellor, the referendaries, and several other legal officers

adopted to insure the condemnation of the accused.

Fruitless attempts to save Thorn from the Jesuits' vengeance.

Prosecution by the Jesuits.

court of justice, composed of the first judicial officers of the state, would certainly have given a fair trial to the accused party, but it was swamped by the addition of forty senators and nuncios, amongst whom there were three bishops, the forty new members being all under the influence of the Jesuits. Thorn perceived its danger, and its delegates tried to do every thing in their power to avert the impending calamity, and to obtain as much time as possible in which to move in their favour several foreign courts. The monarch, perceiving the excitement that prevailed in the diet, wished to protract the adjudication till the conclusion of the session, but some fanatical nuncios threatened to dissolve the diet by their *liberum veto*, and it was fixed for the 30th of October.

The prosecutor, a Jesuit, accused* the incul-

cers of the crown. It took cognizance in matters of the fiscus and of many other public affairs, and was the supreme court of appeal for the towns which were governed by the statute of Magdeburg, or German municipal law.

* The act of accusation contains some very curious expressions indeed. After having paid some exaggerated compliments to the judges, who, like so many Atlases, supported heaven and defended the honour of God, his holy Mother, and of the saints patrons of Poland, the prosecutor said, "Religion, full of tears, cried out 'Justice! justice! justice!' Religion demanded justice in the first place, because the worship of images was an article of faith which God had confirmed by many miracles, one instance of which was the adventure of St. Hyacinthus, who
when

pated party of having committed a crime against all Christendom, by offending Catholicism ; against all Europe, by offending the royal authority ; and against Poland, by offending religion and authority together ; and he demanded that all the churches, schools, and colleges should be taken from the Protestants and given to Roman Catholics ; and that all the charges and offices of the town should be dispensed to the total exclusion of Protestants.

Bohuszewski, the advocate who defended the cause of Thorn, contended that the commission of inquiry, being exclusively composed of Roman

when carrying a statue of the Holy Virgin, passed the Vistula, near Wyszogrod in Mazovia, with a dry foot." Amongst many extravagances touching the insult offered at Thorn to the Holy Virgin, he said "that she was not treated as becomes the Queen of Poland." The glorious king of France, Louis XIV. had ordered sixteen thousand shells to be thrown into Genoa, and three quarters of that town to be destroyed, because an insolent populace had bespattered with mud his armorial bearings. "The *fleurs de lis* of France represent only a terrestrial majesty, but the images of saints are symbols of the heavenly Majesty : therefore the Catholic religion implores the assistance of your tribunal." He alluded also to some menaces of neighbouring powers, which permitted him not to speak out all his zeal ; he hoped, however, that it was a false report, and if true, that it would not produce any consequences, as "Saint Casimir, Saint Stanislaw Kostka, and the Holy Virgin, were quite a match for them,"—assistance which the Romanist party had rendered particularly necessary, by reducing the military force of the nation in accordance with the infamous treaty of Warsaw in 1716.

Catholics, was illegal ; that the witnesses had not been confronted, and that no defence of the accused persons was accepted. His observations excited the anger of judges as well as of the auditory, and cries of reprobation were heard that " a Roman Catholic dared to excuse heresy." Bohuszewski, undismayed by these cries, insisted that a " new impartial inquiry ought to be made into that case, and the evidence of the commission rejected." His efforts, however, proved unavailing. The defence of Thorn was not received, and a decree was given on the sole evidence of the commission. It was promulgated on the 16th November, and the chancellor prefixed it by the declaration, " That God has not received an adequate revenge." This decree condemned the president, Roesner, to be beheaded, and his property to be confiscated and given to the town ; the crimes imputed to him were only those of negligence, which even, if proved, would not deserve such a punishment. He was condemned, because, as it was maintained, he had not liberated the Jesuits' pupil, by which he gave cause to the riot ; because he had not quelled the riot ; had not directly called together the city council ; had not given to the troops sufficient orders ; in short, had not done his duty ; so that, even if all the accusations specified in the decree had been true, Roesner would have deserved to lose his place, but not incur the penalty of death. The

Bloody sentence pronounced by that court against Thorn.

vice-president, Zernicke, condemned to the same penalty, was accused not merely of having connived at, but even of having excited the riot. The burghers, Heider, Mohaupt, Christoph, Hertel, Becker, Mertz, and Wuntsch, accused of having been the leaders of the riot, were condemned to be beheaded. The burghers, Karwisz, Schultz, Haft, and Gutbrod, were condemned to the same penalty; but as they were accused of having added blasphemy to their other crimes, they were further sentenced to have a hand cut off before execution and their bodies burnt. The first of them, as the most guilty, was to be quartered; several persons besides were condemned to imprisonment, fines, and corporal punishment. The sentence was not to be executed until the accusation should be confirmed by a solemn oath, taken in presence of the royal commissioners by the prosecuting party and by the reverend fathers, Jesuits, and six laymen.

Clause attached to its execution,

It was not sufficient for the Jesuits that they wreaked their vengeance on Protestant individuals, the decree struck a blow at Protestantism itself. It was ordered that the city council, as also the town militia, should be composed half of Protestants and half of Roman Catholics, the officers of the latter to be all Roman Catholics. The church of St. Mary was to be restored to the Bernardine monks, from whom it had been taken at the Reformation, as was the Protestant

college. Protestants were forbidden to print any thing at Thorn without the previous approbation of the Roman Catholic bishop, and they could only have schools outside of the walls of the city.

The diet confirmed the decree promulgated on the 16th November, and its execution, which was entrusted to the Hetmans, or commanders-in-chief of the armies of Poland and Lithuania, was ordered to take place on the 15th December.

The president Roesner, and the vice-president Zernicke, who until that time had been free, and could have retired to a place of safety, were arrested on the 18th November, by an aid-de-camp of Lubomirski, who arrived at Thorn with one hundred and fifty horsemen. The town was thrown into the greatest consternation, nobody having dreamt of such a sentence, which even astonished every one at Warsaw. Dantzic addressed a petition to the monarch against that iniquitous sentence; the ambassadors of the emperor, of the czar Peter, of Sweden, interceded; the king of Prussia wrote himself to the king of Poland, interceding in favour of Thorn, and engaged several other sovereigns to do the same. The senate, or city council of Thorn, presented a petition to the king, praying at least a suspension of the execution; but the Jesuits, abetted by Lubomirski, succeeded in accelerating its term by a week.

Intercessions
addressed in
vain by Dant-
zic and some
foreign powers,
in favour of
Thorn.¹

There was one circumstance which seemed to prevent the execution of this atrocious sentence,

and induced many members of the tribunal which judged the affair of Thorn to sign it. It was the condition that the Jesuits should confirm by an oath the facts presented in this indictment—a condition which the law absolutely required from the prosecuting party for the execution of such a sentence, and which, on this occasion, it seemed impossible could be fulfilled, on account of the sacred calling of that party which, it was presumed, would restrain them from making an asseveration equivalent to the signature of a death-warrant. The commission entrusted with the execution of the decree assembled on the 5th December in the Town-hall of Thorn, and the accused and accusing parties were summoned to their presence. The last-named party was represented, on that occasion, by Pater Wolenski and other Jesuits. When the sentence was read, and the confirmatory oath was required, Pater Wolenski answered, with an assumed mildness, that as a clergyman he was not thirsty of blood. “*Religiosum non sitire sanguinem;*” but he made a sign to two other Jesuits, Piotrowicz and Schubert, who bent their knees and pronounced the required oath. Six laymen, belonging to the lowest of the populace, did the same, although the decree required that they should be of a condition equal to that of the accused parties.*

* Strimesius, a Protestant author, says, that “the papal nuncio in Poland, Santini, did not approve of the affair of Thorn, and

Execution of
the sentence.

The sentence was executed on the 7th December. The aged Roesner, a man universally respected, and who had given proofs of his patriotism by valiantly defending the town against the Swedes, was beheaded at an early hour in the yard of the Town-hall. He rejected the proposal of saving his life by the abjuration of his religion, and died with the constancy and resignation of a Christian martyr. We have observed that he could easily have saved himself by flight, but he was conscious of his innocence, and moreover afraid to draw by such a step fatal consequences on the town which he governed. He himself announced his condemnation, saying, "God grant that my death may give peace to the church and to the town." His body was buried with all the honours due to his station. The vice-president, Zernicke, who according to the sentence was much more guilty than Roesner, was respited, and finally pardoned; all the other condemned were executed, with the exception of Hertel, who embraced Romanism.

The church taken from the Lutherans was consecrated on the 8th December, and the Jesuit Wieruszowski pronounced, on that occasion, a

and forbade the Jesuits to take the oath required for the execution of the sentence." It is also said that the same papal nuncio had obtained a delay of the sentence, but that when it arrived at Thorn all was over, and that he sent an accusation against the Jesuits to Rome.

sermon on Machab, b. 1. chap. iv. verses 36, 48, and 57, in which he apostrophized the commissioners who had put the sentence into execution as men more like angels than human beings : “ *Ecce viri, potius angelis quam hominibus similes.*”

This deplorable event did great injury to Poland in the public opinion of Europe, and gave cause to loud declamations and bitter invectives against our country. The king of Prussia was particularly active in his efforts to excite the other Protestant monarchs, and addressed, on that occasion, the kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Great Britain, and even that of France, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Oliva. The Protestant monarchs and the States of Holland addressed remonstrances on that subject to the king of Poland ; and the English ambassador at the German diet, Mr. Finch, pronounced at Ratisbon, on the 7th February 1725, a most violent speech on that subject, threatening Poland with war if the wrongs of the Protestants should not be redressed. Peter the Great was on the point of declaring war against Poland, and made active preparations to invade Lithuania ; a project which death prevented him from putting into execution. Thus the czar of Muscovy, whose influence had elevated Sza-niawski, the most active enemy of the Protestants, and who had destroyed their liberties by the treaty of 1716, was a few years afterwards

Sensation produced in Europe by the affair of Thorn.

ready to make war, under pretence of avenging their wrongs.

Reflections
upon that affair.

The judicial murders of Thorn are the more painful to contemplate, that Poland had been free from such cruelties in times when almost every part of Europe was inundated with blood shed on account of religious differences, and even at so early a period as 1556, when the influence of Lippomani caused at Thorn the judicial murder of some Jews and of a poor Christian girl, a general cry of indignation was raised throughout the country.* Yet, in 1724, the Jesuits could raise a general cry for vengeance against the imaginary offenders of the Divinity. Far be it from us to excuse Poland on the ground that there is no country which has not disgraced itself by much greater enormities. What is wrong in itself can never be justified by the example of others. We think, however, that a close and impartial investigation of the circumstances accompanying that nefarious transaction will show that the blame of it was unjustly laid on the Polish nation, whilst it should entirely rest with that anti-national faction which made the nation a tool for the attainment of its objects.

It is very easy for a strongly organized body, governed by one chief, extending its ramifications over all the country, and influential with all

* Vide vol. i. page 304.

the classes of society, to produce a general excitement on any subject whatever, but particularly on one connected with religion; and the more so, if such a body have at its command two such powerful engines for working upon the minds of the people as the pulpit and the confessional. Was it, then, extraordinary that the employment of such means produced their natural effect on the mass of the nation, and that the voice of some few enlightened persons was silenced by the outcry of the multitude? We ask every impartial and reflecting reader, whether it does not happen in every free country, that the opinions of the great majority, generally called public opinion, are sometimes so misled on subjects connected either with religion or politics, by the arts of agitation, that prudent persons, notwithstanding their superiority over the multitude, must either submit or give place to others who partake of, or seem to profit by, its determination? Such was the case in Poland, when the agitation which the all-powerful society of the Jesuits had produced by means of misrepresentation, directed the election of the nuncios to the diet, and chose the commission for investigating the affair of Thorn. The court which judged this affair being composed of the first officers of the state, ought certainly to have been above the influence of popular clamour and the bigotry of the petty nobles; but it was swamped by the addition of forty new members chosen by the influence of the

Jesuits. There are, moreover, two other circumstances which contributed greatly to the ferocity and injustice of them. In the first place, the undue interference of foreign courts, which was easily construed by the interested party into an encroachment on the national independence, which it was necessary to repel by all means ; and, secondly, the clause, already spoken of as appended to the sentence, which appeared to render its execution almost impossible. It was impossible to suppose, as we have already said, that the reverend fathers who assumed such a character of meekness and sanctity, would, on that occasion, so far forget their clerical character as to invigorate by oath a warrant for bloodshed. These two circumstances contributed more than any thing to the passing of the sentence ; many signed, thinking to show thereby a defiance of the foreign interference in national affairs, and hoped to prevent its consequences by annexing to it conditions which in their judgment never could be fulfilled.

This, we think, is the proper view of the case, and we are astonished that no author, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, has to our knowledge considered it in such a light. It is true, that this affair was a subject of much comment over all Europe for some time after it had taken place, and when the passions were strongly excited ; but we do not know that it ever has been

since investigated in a calm and dispassionate manner.

The interference of foreign courts to which we have alluded, instead of bringing relief to the Protestants, served only to render their condition more painful. The remonstrances of Protestant monarchs couched in strong terms, and particularly the violent speech of the English minister at Ratisbon, being read to the diet of 1726, excited general irritation against these courts; and the vengeance that could not reach them was wreaked on the Polish Protestants, who were prohibited at the same diet, under a penalty of death, from seeking the protection of foreign powers. A proof that this was produced by jealousy of the national independence, is afforded by strong opposition of that diet to Rome; for one of its members pronounced a violent speech against the Pope's interference with the affairs of the Polish church, which he concluded by the words "*Regat suam ecclesiam.*" The papal nuncio having published a censure of the proceedings of the diet, his jurisdiction was immediately suspended, and the diet confirmed several ancient laws limiting the power of the pope, and enacted a new one, by which the Polish clergy were forbidden to accept any dignity from Rome. The pope endeavoured to abolish that law by the influence of the bishops, nevertheless it remained on the statute book.

Injurious effect on the condition of the Polish Protestants, produced by the interference of foreign powers in their favour.

Szaniawski declares by a pastoral letter that the Protestants belong to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishops.

All these circumstances naturally increased the persecution of the Protestants. Szaniawski, whom we have seen sacrificing the interests of his country to Rome and Muscovy by the infamous treaty of 1716, which reduced at the same time the religious liberties of the anti-Romanist confessions and the military force of the country, published on the 10th January 1725 a pastoral letter, by which he declared, under the most absurd pretexts, that the Protestants also belonged to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and promulgated, in consequence, the most vexatious regulations against the exercise of their religion.*

* Szaniawski, who was then bishop of Cracow, after having invited the anti-Romanists to enter the pale of the church, declares to those who would not obey this invitation, "that they ought to know that he was their pastor, as they had entered by baptism the doors of the church, and are its disobedient sons and subjects." Consequently Mahomedans and Jews could have more freedom in the exercise of their religion, because they were not baptized. He proceeds, then, to order, "that the Protestants should observe the Roman Catholic feasts, and be subject to the Roman Catholic parish priests; that their marriages should be celebrated in Roman Catholic churches and by Roman Catholic priests, according to the ordinances of the council of Trent; and that marriages contracted before a Protestant minister or a civil magistrate should be regarded as null and void," because the tribunal of the papal nuncio had declared on the 25th October 1723, in a cause at Cracow, "that the marriages of the anti-Romanists contracted before a heretic minister are null and

The Protestants convoked two general synods at Dantzic, 1726 and 1728, in order to deliberate on their critical situation, and the means of counteracting the persecution that daily increased. The general synod of 1728 is the last of that kind held in Poland; but these synods, though composed of members of different Protestant confessions, scarcely deserve the appellation of "general," because the Protestant churches of all Poland being unable openly to send their delegates, were by no means duly represented: indeed no convocation of that kind which had taken place since the colloquium of Thorn (1645) really deserves such an appellation.

Protestant
synods at
Dantzic.

The foreign powers continued from time to time to make representations in favour of the Protestants; and the English minister at the Polish court, G. W. Woodward, presented, in 1731, a memorial to the king, enumerating the various oppressions to which the Protestants were exposed, requesting the abolition of those abuses and the restoration to the Protestants of their rights, adding that it was unjust to withdraw from them the protection of laws so long as they did not break them. The memorial was concluded by a threat of retaliating the same oppressions on the Roman Catholics living in Protestant states.

Representation
made in favour
of the Polish
Protestants by
Woodward,
English minister
at the court
of Poland, and
by other Pro-
testant powers.

and void." Thus a papal nuncio and Roman Catholic bishop prescribed laws in matters belonging to religion for those who did not belong to their communion.

Representations of a similar tenour were made by Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. These representations, however, instead of alleviating the persecution of the Protestants, served only to increase its severity, so that many persons who would have been otherwise disposed towards conciliatory and tolerant measures, were induced to take a contrary view of the question, regarding the Protestants as acting under a foreign influence hostile to the national independence. It was owing to this feeling, of which the Roman party knew well how to take advantage, that the general confederation of the states, after the death of Augustus the Second, inserted at the head of its act the following resolution: "Because the foundation of every state *in vero Dei cultu ac sancta Religione consistit*; consequently, by the present act of our confederation we shall not permit to any one *derogare juribus et privilegiis orthodoxæ Romano Catholicæ et Ritus Græco Unitorum Ecclesiæ*; on the contrary, as in this orthodox state, *exoticos detestamur cultus*, so we declare and oblige ourselves to defend, according to the example of our ancestors, the same holy Roman Catholic church and its immunities." The same act of confederation guaranteed to the Protestants peace, security of property, and equality of persons, according to the ancient laws, "but particularly that of 1717." However, they could not have any *activitatem* in the chamber of nuncios, in the tribunal and

commissions, neither could they have any private meetings or *conventicula* prohibited by the laws, or possess any offices of palatinates or districts in Poland and Lithuania, *salvis modernis possessoribus*, though they were eligible to all military grades, and had the faculty of possessing starosties.

This was the first legal deprivation of the civil rights of the Protestants, and it was confirmed by the *pacta conventa* of Augustus the Third and the diet of pacification 1736, by which an amnesty was granted to those who opposed his election in favour of Stanislaw Leszczynski.* It must be observed that these laws against the Protestants were enacted at a time when the country was inundated by Russian troops, as well as the Saxon, which were composed of Protestants, and it is almost impossible to suppose that the foreign influence which established a king on the throne of Poland was not strong enough to maintain the rights of the anti-Romanists had it sincerely wished to do so. But the interests of Protestants were completely disregarded on that occasion, and were reserved for a fitter occasion to be converted into the tools of an interested policy.

* Augustus the Third, son of Augustus the Second, was elected by a minority of the nation, whilst the majority elected Stanislaw Leszczynski, who, being obliged to vacate the throne of Poland, 1709, lived in France. A Russian army gave support to the partizans of Augustus, so that Leszczynski was obliged to retire, and his adherents, after some struggle, submitted.

During the short contest between the partisans of the two kings, the Protestants were persecuted by the adherents of Augustus, as favouring Leszczyński, whilst they experienced similar treatment from the partisans of the latter, under the pretext that they adhered to Augustus. If the persecution in which the Romanist clergy indulged had been strong at a period when the laws of the country guaranteed to Protestants all the rights of other citizens, it was but to be expected that it would become more severe when these laws were formally abrogated, and the peace and security of persons and property which continued to be promised, had been converted into a dead letter. Persecution of the clergy was soon more severe than ever, and in the province of Grand Poland alone the Protestants lost, from 1718 to 1754, about thirty churches, which were partly destroyed and partly converted into Romanist ones.* The churches of Little Poland seem to have escaped by some fortunate circumstance, as their small number (nine) has not to our knowledge been diminished since 1718. Those of Lithuania must also have suffered severely, as their number, which was in 1718 fifty-one, now scarcely amounts to half of it. We were, however, unable to collect any particular details

Unfortunate condition of Protestants during the reign of the Saxon dynasty in Poland.

* Friese, vol. ii. page 323, enumerates these churches.

about the persecution which the Protestants suffered in that part of the country.

The persecution to which the anti-Romanist confessions were subject during the reign of Augustus the Third, are made known in the petition presented by their delegates to the king Stanislaw Poniatowski and the diet of 1766. "Our churches," says that petition, "have been partly taken from us under different pretences, and partly are falling into ruins, as the repairing of them is prohibited, and a permission of doing it cannot be obtained without much difficulty and costs.

The laws against Arianism are applied to us with great insult and contumely, although we are very far from the Arian errors. Our youth is obliged to grow up in ignorance, and without the knowledge of God, as schools are forbidden to us in many places. Many difficulties are frequently opposed to the vocation of ministers to our churches; and their visits to the sick and dying are exposed to much danger. We must dearly pay for the permission of performing the rites of baptism, marriages, and burials, because the price for it is arbitrarily fixed by those who give such permission. The burying of our dead, even at night time, is exposed to great danger; and we are obliged, in order to baptize children, to carry them out of the country. The *jus patronatus* in our estates is disputed; our churches are subject to the visitation of Roman Catholic bishops; our

Enumeration of their griefs, in a petition presented by them to the king and the states.

church discipline, maintained according to the ancient order, is subject to great impediments. In many towns, people belonging to our confessions are compelled to follow Roman Catholic processions. The ecclesiastical laws, or *jura canonica*, are imposed upon us. Not only children proceeding from mixt marriages are obliged to be educated in the Roman Catholic religion, but children of a Protestant widow who marries a Roman Catholic are compelled to embrace the confession of their step-father. We are called heretics, although the laws of the country accord to us the name of dissidents. Our oppression becomes the more grievous that we have no patron either in the senate, or at the diets, the tribunals, or any jurisdiction whatever; even at the elections we dare not appear without exposing ourselves to evident danger (of which a sufficient proof was recently given at Proszowice),* and for some time past we have been cruelly used, in opposition to the ancient laws of the country." Such was the melancholy picture of the state to which the Protestants had been reduced in Poland during the reign of Augustus the Third,

* Vide Lukaszewicz, page 247. We are unable to ascertain the precise nature of the act of intolerance to which it alluded. It is very remarkable that it should happen at Proszowice, the nobles of which had been, during the reign of Sigismund Augustus, exclusively Protestants. Such was the triumph of Romanism effected by the Jesuits.

CHAPTER XVI.

INTERREGNUM AFTER THE DEMISE OF AUGUSTUS THE
THIRD, AND REIGN OF STANISLAV PONIATOWSKI.

WE have now arrived at a period on which we cannot enter without a deep feeling of grief as Poles and as Protestants, but however painful the task of delineating events that were precur-sive of the destruction of our country will be, we shall endeavour conscientiously to represent them in the light which we believe to be the true one. The political affairs of that eventful period being intimately connected with those of religion, we must necessarily give a sketch of the former, to treat properly the chief object of our narrative.

The state of Poland at the close of the reign of the Saxon dynasty is described by our eminent historian, Lelœwel, in the following words: "From the beginning of the reign of John Casimir and the wars of the Cossacks, to the end of the Swedish wars and the dumb diet, *i. e.* from 1648 till 1717, a period of seventy years, different kinds of disasters desolated the Polish soil and nation. These calamities caused the decline of Poland,

State of Poland
at the close of
the reign of the
Saxon dynasty.

the limits of which were narrowed by the loss of many provinces, whilst its population was diminished by the emigration of the Cossacks, the Socinians, and a great number of Protestants, as well as by the exclusion from the rights of citizens of the remaining dissidents. The nation was rendered weak by general impoverishment and distress ; by the system of education, which was either conducted by the Jesuits or entirely neglected ; finally, by the exhaustion consequent on the convulsive struggles that had agitated the country during seventy years : Poland was plunged into a state of stupor ; it lost during the reign of the Saxon dynasty all its energy ; and remained inactive, scarcely giving signs of life, like those that indicate she was paralysed. Accustomed to suffering and humiliation she imagined herself to be happy ; imbued with false principles, she was satisfied to live in disorder to possess a tract of land still considerable ; and to preserve republican institutions, though surrounded by absolute powers which increased even as she decreased.

Poland formed a republic, but for a long time had been in all her actions dependent on a foreign tutelage. The two kings of the Saxon dynasty had no reluctance to subject her to the influence of Russia, and to keep her under the protectorate of Peter the Great, of Anna, and of Elizabeth. The court of St. Petersburg made continual protestations of the interest which it took in the

safety of the monarch, as well as in the peace, welfare, and liberty of the republic. It gave frequent assurances that it could not regard with indifference any attempt at altering or injuring them ; and that in order to prove its sincere friendship for the king and the republic, it would never suffer the formation of the smallest confederation, or an attempt at innovation directed against the sacred person of the king, or against the republic, its liberty, and rights, by whomsoever, and under what pretence soever, they might be undertaken ; but, on the contrary, that it would adopt the necessary measures for obviating similar cases. Such were the benevolent declarations of Russia.”*

Such was the melancholy state to which Poland was reduced by the circumstances which the Roman re-action, conducted by the Jesuits, had contrived to bring about. The disgraceful dependence on the Russian court constituted, indeed, the whole political system of Augustus the Third and his favourite minister, count Brühl, who ruled in his name. A natural consequence was, that many Poles sought to obtain the favour of the court of St. Petersburg as the surest means of advancing their interest at that of Warsaw. We must, however, add that a dawn of light, even under the reign of Augustus the Third, was be-

* Vide Lelewel's reign of Stanislaw Augustus.

Revival of
learning in Po-
land by the ex-
ertions of some
patriotic indivi-
duals.

ginning to pierce even the cimmerian darkness which covered Poland ; and this was evoked by the concurrence of several fortunate circumstances. Stanislaw Leszczynski, who after having twice unsuccessfully occupied the throne of Poland, had become sovereign of Lorraine, continued to educate at Luneville several young Poles of distinguished families, who, after their return to Poland, contributed the spread of a taste for information.

The two brothers Zaluski, bishops of Kiof and Cracow, collected with great pains a splendid library at Warsaw, which they made public in the year 1747. But the greatest services to the restoration of letters and public education was rendered by Stanislaw Konarski, a priest of the congregation of the *Patres pii*. He founded at his own expense a college at Warsaw, where the youths were educated according to an improved plan of study. He struggled with extraordinary courage and perseverance against great obstacles and general prejudices, boldly attacking not only the corrupt taste in literature and the vicious system of education introduced by the Jesuits, but even the abuses that obtained in the political constitution of the country, such as the *liberum veto*, and the state of disorder generally prevailing. Konavski, and his colleague Jordan, effected a reform of their own congregation, and made public instruction its sole object, which, as they

conducted it upon an improved system, contributed much to the restoration of learning and science.

These circumstances shed some rays of light amid the general darkness, and showed to many eminent persons the absolute necessity of reforming the constitution of the country which was the source of all its evils, all its preposterous parts having grown into grievous abuses, whilst the means provided by the constitution for remedying them, and which, imperfect as they were, had sometimes saved the country from imminent ruin, were entirely fallen into disuse. Yet the opinions of those who wished to effect such reforms were divided as to the means to be employed for attaining that purpose. "Some," says Lelewel, "wished for a rapid advance, others for a very slow one; one side advocated great changes, whilst the other was ready to defend the old institutions. The wish to serve the country was mingled with the desire of gaining distinction and acquiring preponderance. In the praiseworthy attempts which began to agitate the minds the tendencies were different. The Potockis and the Radziwills, who supported the integral preservation of the liberties of the republic, formed a party, which was called the court or Saxon party; whilst their adversaries, the Czartoryskis, having other projects, undertook to oppose the court, *i.e.* the king Augustus the Third, and the influence of his Saxon minister

The necessity of reforming the constitution of the country begins to be felt in Poland.

(count Brühl).” We have already alluded to the state of political degradation to which the king and his minister had reduced the country ; and we now add a circumstance that fully illustrates their utter dereliction of every sense of national honor and dignity : When Frederick the Second, king of Prussia, on the outbreak of the Seven Years’ War, invaded and occupied Saxony, and compelled Augustus the Third to flee his hereditary dominions and seek refuge in his elective kingdom, all the parties which at that time divided Poland united in offering to levy an army of one hundred thousand men, as well to avenge his injury as to put the country in the state of defence absolutely required by the fact that a war raged in the neighbouring states. But instead of his assisting to put such a salutary scheme into execution, Brühl employed every kind of intrigue at home and abroad to counteract this project, preferring to entrust to Russia the recovery of the hereditary dominions of his master. Thus opening Poland to the passage of the troops of its dangerous ally, and exposing its frontiers to the constant depredations of those of Prussia, who had never paid any regard to the neutrality of Poland when it was convenient to break it.

It was such a court and the party which, because it was enamoured of the ancient institutions, neglected for the sake of civil liberty the far greater boon—national independence, without which the

former was but an idle name, that the Czartoryskis endeavoured to overturn, in order to introduce another order of things. The means which they employed for attaining their object are thus described by the same historian :—" Michel, chancellor of Lithuania, and his brother Augustus, palatine of Russia (princes Czartoryski), both endowed with great abilities and fit for an active life, undertook to effect the great transformation of the republic into a well organized monarchy. It was, according to their idea, the most efficacious means of raising their country from the humiliation into which it was plunged. They had consequently to struggle against prejudices, the local spirit, and the powerful parties of the Potockis and the Radziwills. Always entertaining the same projects, they forwarded, with the utmost exertions, science and literature, and created by every means partizans in Poland and Lithuania ; they elevated, to a certain degree of consideration, families of little note, and raised those who had been reduced by adverse circumstances ; they filled the offices with their favourites, and having assisted Brühl to get his naturalization, they disposed through his medium of public charges. They sought out and patronized men of superior talents, and such as who, by their writings, exerted an influence on public opinion. Though they had not attained their political object, it cannot be forgotten that they have powerfully contributed

Bold undertaking of the princes Czartoryski to reform the constitution of Poland.

to make many improvements. Conjointly with Konarski they spread a taste for letters and science, and nobody could equal them in their exertions to that effect. But the court and the minister, Brühl, were in their way, and they directed their attacks against him in order to weaken his influence. Finally, in order to begin the projects which they meditated ; to overcome the first difficulties, to effect the reforms and place a Pole on the throne, it appeared to them necessary to have recourse to the powerful intervention of the court of Russia."

The Czartorykis had zealously supported the interests of Stanislaw Leszczynski at his second election, when Augustus the Third, who was his rival, succeeded mainly through Russian influence in securing the crown. The circumstances that attended that election forced on them the belief that good government would not be established in Poland save through the influence that had seated Augustus. They endeavoured, therefore, to gain the favour of the court of St. Petersburg, being persuaded, as Rhulhiere says, " that considering the venality, the ignorance, and incapacity of the Russian ministry, it might be induced to adopt measures useful to Poland, and the object of which those barbarians would not penetrate." The project of the Czartoryskis was much encouraged by the English minister in Poland, Sir Hanbury Williams, who promised to procure

the support of his own court and of that of Russia. Had the same spirit which presided over the councils of Russia under the reign of Elizabeth continued to govern that country, the projects of the Czartoryskis might have been easily accomplished, but the accession of Catherine entirely changed the state of affairs.

The circumstances of the accession of Stanislaw Poniatowski, a relation and a creature of the Czartoryskis, are well known, and require not a description. We shall only say that the Czartoryskis availed^{themselves} of the assistance of the Russian troops which Catherine sent to Poland for the support of the election of Poniatowski, to crush the republican party and to establish their influence at the diet of convocation in 1764. Having *confederated* the diet,* they succeeded in introducing most important and salutary reforms into the constitution of the country. This diet of convocation established commissions for the military and the treasury departments, and succeeded in diminishing the powers of the Hetmans (commanders-in-chief) and grand-treasurers; it enacted also that the affairs relating to finances and justice should be thenceforward decided by

* A diet was confederated by the union of the Senate and the Chamber of Nuncios, which deliberated together, deciding their resolutions by the plurality of votes, instead of the unanimity required by ordinary diets.

the majority of votes, and that even though a diet should be dissolved by a vote, the decisions adopted touching the above-mentioned affairs were to have the force of law. This enactment gave limits to the veto, but the project of abolishing it altogether did not succeed, as the ambassadors of the foreign powers strove to preserve it. It must be also observed that it was only by artifice that the Czartoryskis contrived to elude foreign opposition, and succeeded in modifying the privilege of the veto and in increasing the royal power by the institution of the supreme commissions (of war and treasury) which covered their designs. They disguised their special regulations under general expressions, and passed a decision that all propositions relating to the advantage of the republic should be proposed by the commissions and be determined before other affairs, and *by the judicial form, i. e.* by the plurality of votes, and with a rapidity which would prevent them from being injured by the rupture of the diet. By this stratagem the action of the *liberum veto*, although not abolished, was rendered nugatory in the decision of these affairs. They passed at the same time a great number of other regulations, relating to administration, police, clergy, &c. as well as some laws in favour of peasants, and restrictive of the excessive power of the nobles. The daring proposition, that the election (of the king) should

be made by deputies, chosen for that purpose, instead of by all the nobles, was rejected ;* the confederation was, however, declared to continue in force, which gave to its leaders, the princes Czartoryskis, an immense power over the affairs of Poland ; so that although Poniatowski was monarch, the real authority owned a much greater than that possessed by the kings was in the hands of the Czartoryskis. —

Peter the Third, emperor of Russia, during his short reign, concluded a treaty of alliance with Frederick the Second, by which it was stipulated, amongst other things, that after the demise of Augustus the Third, the election of a piast, or native of the country, as well as the claims of the dissidents, should be supported. The first of these regulations originated in views of policy, and an apprehension lest the Saxon dynasty should become hereditary in Poland, and which might have easily been accomplished had Augustus the Third and his minister, instead of paralyzing the energies of the nation, had exerted themselves to rise its vigour and feeling of national dignity ;† the se-

* Vide Lelewel's "*Reign of Stanislaw Poniatowski*."

† It must be remarked, that notwithstanding the great political errors of the Saxon dynasty, which rendered its possession of the Polish throne equally prejudicial to Poland as to Saxony, the amiable personal qualities of its princes gained for it the attachment of the nation ; a circumstance particularly manifested by the constitution of 1791, which granted to the Saxon dynasty the hereditary possession of the throne of Poland.

cond is ascribed to the personal influence of the Prussian minister at St. Petersburg, Baron Golz, who was descended from a Polish Protestant family, and is conformable to the views manifested by the powers on several occasions, although without any effect.

The Protestants presented at that diet a petition which was printed and published, recounting their grievances and claiming their ancient rights and privileges ; but the Czartoryskis, who had effected such changes at the same diet, and were far from being actuated by any motive of religious fanaticism, were obliged either to abandon the claims of the Protestants, who composed a very small minority, to the bigotry of the majority of the diet, or to relinquish projects that tended to the welfare of the whole nation. The petition of the Protestants, therefore, was not only rejected, but the remainder of their rights were still more restricted, and this on the motion of Stanislaw Poniatowski, who was elected king, and who assisted at the diet as nuncio of Mazovia, therein acting in conformity with the instruction given to him by his constituency. They were deprived of the right of possessing starosties, and several offices in the administration of the port, the mines, and the royal domains.*

The diet of convocation of 1764 enacts new restrictions against the dissidents.

* Walch's "*Neueste Religions Geschichte*," vol. iv. Lemngo, 1774. It must be remarked, that the instructions of the constituencies

The Protestants, undismayed by their ill success at the diet of 1764, continued their exertions, supported by the court of Russia. We are very far from justifying means such as these, which were preposterous from their very nature ; we hold, however, as most absurd, the charge which many have laid on the Protestants, as having been *instrumental in abetting the views* of Russia by claiming its protection for the restoration of their rights and liberties. Was it the fault of the Protestants that Russian influence put Augustus the Third on the throne of Poland, at whose accession the political rights of these same Protestants were abolished ?—Was it the fault of the Protestants that this very Augustus and his ministry, during all his reign, kept Poland in the most disgraceful subserviency to the court of St. Petersburg ? that he reduced the country to such a state of dependance on that court, that the leaders of the

The dissidents exert themselves to recover their ancient rights by the support of Russia ; reflections on that conduct.

tuencies were, according to the constitution of Poland, binding to their representatives, and that Poniatowski, therefore, was obliged to act as he did without any regard to his personal opinions on the subject. These, as subsequently, experience proved were different from those of his constituency ; thus the general post-master of Poland, who was a Protestant, and several minor officers, who belonged to the same communion, having been dismissed in consequence of the new law, were restored to their former offices by the same Poniatowski after his election to the throne ; a measure, moreover, which was rendered indispensable by the intimate acquaintance exclusively possessed by them of the business of their departments.

most enlightened part of the nation, having no other chance of establishing a better system of government, were obliged to make the dangerous experiment of effecting it by the means of that very foreign influence which ruled the country ; means hazardous, indeed, but which alone presented a chance of success ? Considering these circumstances, we boldly ask every unprejudiced person, whatever be his creed, is there any justice in denouncing a small minority of oppressed citizens for having sought redress from the same quarter, whither many of their Roman Catholic countrymen resorted, for the purpose of getting personal advantages, and whence others believed the safety of the country was alone to be obtained ? We repeat our conviction, that the Protestants were wrong in acting as they did ; that they ought to have defended their cause by all constitutional means, and rather have suffered every persecution, than have sought redress from abroad ; and that they ought to have preserved themselves pure from that general contamination which disgraced so many of their Roman Catholic countrymen. It would be, however, exacting from them a heroism almost above weak human nature, and we cannot wonder that, goaded by persecution, they committed the same guilt of which a much greater number of their Roman Catholic countrymen were guilty, without having adequate ground of excuse ; and of which a deplorable example was set by the court,

which forced in some measure the whole nation into that disgraceful course. And yet the reliance of Protestants on foreign patronage was made a constant theme of reproach to them, and their claims were sincerely opposed by many on that ground. No one, however, who is acquainted with the history of mankind, will wonder at such strange and inconsistent proceedings ; for, unfortunately, every where and in all times the weaker has been made to bear the blame of the stronger.

Having expressed our opinion on this subject, we will proceed with the narration of events, which will amply prove that all the parties which had the misfortune of falling under the influence of designing foreign powers became unwilling tools of the interested policy of those powers, who never permitted them, even when they had perceived their error, to retrace the blameable course into which they had been led by a mistaken view of their interests, nor scrupled to sacrifice those very interests as soon as it was requisite for the attainment of the ends of their policy.

At the diet of the convocation of the new king, the Czartoryskis developed more fully the laws which they had introduced at the diet of convocation, and this, despite the efforts of the Russian ambassador, Repnin, to thwart these salutary reforms. They rejected, also, the offensive and defensive alliance proposed by Russia, because such an unequal alliance would have involved

Poland in wars for the advantage of Russia, the chief burden of which would have fallen on her.

The claims of the dissidents rejected by the diet of convocation.

The claims of the dissidents reiterated at that diet were again sacrificed to the fanaticism of the majority of the nuncios, in order that their consent to measures of general importance might be gained ; nay, the diet did not even permit the discussion of the matter.

Intrigues of the contending parties at St. Petersburg.

The new laws were considered by many as infringements of the ancient liberties of the nation, and moreover, they sensibly injured a great number of local and individual interests. Numerous representations against the new laws, as well as complaints and accusations against the princes Czartoryski, were in consequence addressed to St. Petersburg. This humiliating step was not repaid by any result whatever, and served only to increase the perplexity of the contending parties. Catherine, occupied at that time with other projects, paid little attention to the affairs of Poland, which were abandoned to the caprices of two factions that divided her court. The minister, Panin, the same who distinguished himself afterwards by his strong opposition to the dismemberment of Poland, approved of the new laws established in that country, and whenever he discovered at Petersburg an emissary of the opposite or republican party, he compelled him to leave that capital. On the other hand, Orloff, the favourite of Catherine, took the part of the

republicans, and obtained for their emissaries secret audiences from the empress, whilst he persecuted by all means those of the opposite party. Catherine courted the adulation of Voltaire, and other French philosophers of that school, who extolled her liberality, manifested in the defence of the Polish dissidents. She demanded, therefore, the restoration of the anti-Romanist confessions to all their ancient rights and privileges in Poland ; but she did it in such a haughty manner, that she offended the national pride of many who would not have opposed the claims of the dissidents on religious grounds. The king* wrote to Catherine, promising to fulfil her demands, praising the advantages of toleration, and talking even of the establishment of a national church ; yet this letter, though containing sound views, was couched

Letter of the king of Poland to the empress of Russia respecting the dissidents.

* Poniatowski wrote to Catherine : " La protection que vous accordez aux dissidents est digne de votre humanité et de votre philosophie. La Pologne ne peut qu'y gagner infiniment, par l'affluence des étrangers et par l'établissement des manufactures qui suivra cette affluence. Je veux même, de concert avec votre majesté, établir un synode Catholique qui puisse exercer en Pologne l'autorité qui s'y arrogent les légats du Pope, et soustraire ainsi mes sujets à une domination étrangère. Mais laissez-moi un peu de temps. Il faut, avant que je puisse amener les esprits de ma nation à de tels changemens, que j'aie pu gagner leur confiance. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire avec Racine :—

' Gardons nous de reduire un peuple furieux,

Madame à prononcé entre nous et les Dieux.' "

—Vide *Rhulhiere*, vol. ii. p. 275, ed. 1819.

in such expressions that it could not but hurt the national feelings, as he ascribed the contemplated reforms to her influence, and intended to effect them with her assistance.

Like other factions which divided Poland, the Protestants had also an emissary at St. Petersburg, charged to promote their interest at a court which all parties considered at that time as the arbiter of the destinies of Poland.

Arguments for
and against the
claims of the
dissidents ex-
posed at St.
Petersburg.

The ambassador of Poland disputed with the emissary of the Protestants before the Russian ministers. The Polish ambassador maintained that it was not toleration which the dissidents claimed, as they enjoyed it already; that above two hundred churches,* which existed at that time, were sufficient for their small number, and that they demanded to enjoy all the prerogatives of the dominant religion. He inquired, then, what could be the right of foreign powers to interfere in such a question. He proved that the only treaty which the king of Prussia had to cite was that of Velau, concluded in 1657, by which Poland resigned its rights of paramount sovereignty over the duchy of Prussia, and that the only article of that treaty relating to religious affairs was that which guaranteed the maintenance in the duchy of Prussia, which was be-

* This number is much over-stated, unless the Greek non-united churches were comprehended in it.

coming independent by the same treaty, of all the prerogatives of the Roman Catholic religion. That the treaty of Oliva, concluded in 1660, contained two articles relating to the same affairs, of which one stipulated that the Roman Catholic religion should be preserved in Livonia, and the other that the free exercise of the Protestant religion should be maintained in Polish Prussia, and those towns did not make the slightest complaint on that subject. He rejected the forced interpretation which the dissidents gave to the word amnesty, inserted in that treaty, which related only to the general pardon granted after the troubles. Finally, he proved that by the treaty of 1686, the only one upon which the court of Russia might found what is called its rights, the toleration of the Greek religion, was agreed to in reciprocation for the protection demanded by the Poles for the Roman Catholic religion in the provinces which were ceded to Russia. The Greek religion was tolerated in Poland, whilst the Roman Catholic no longer existed in the provinces ceded to Russia; consequently, the only real right established by that treaty was that of Poland to demand the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion in the above-mentioned provinces. He also represented, that there was not in all Europe a government which could be presented as a pattern of the political system which Poland was required to adopt; that all

nations, the most free and wise, had a dominant religion ; that in the most tolerant states severe laws opposed multiplicity of religions, and sought to diminish the influence of a party spirit, most dangerous in a republic, by preventing the adherents of them from participating in public administration, and that in Poland particularly, where the opposition of a single person arrested (by the *liberum veto*) the activity of all, it was obvious that danger would accrue to the state should many sects participate in the legislation and magistrature of the country. Finally, examining all the constitutions (laws) of Poland, he proved that in those which were the most favourable to the dissidents there never had been any mention of their admission to public charges, and he cited to Russia the enactments of 1717, which expressly forbade that any should be given them, and which were made under the mediation of Peter the Great and under the protection of a Russian army. Therefore he inferred that Russia, whose pretensions to exercise the right of a guaranter in Poland were solely founded on the above-mentioned treaty, should, in order to act conformably to the principles which for fifty years she had professed, support the republic against the pretensions of the dissidents.*

We have repeated these arguments of the Polish

* Vide vol. ii. page 313 and following:

ambassador, as they are given by Rhulhiere, in his popular work on Poland, but are unable to decide whether the errors of ratiocination, (and they are numerous,) are to be attributed to the ambassador or to the historian, for it shows either gross ignorance, or the most wilful perversion of historical facts. In the first place, the treaty of Oliva, (1660,) fully and expressly guaranteed, as we have already had an opportunity of showing,* the rights and privileges of all the confessions, such as they were before the war which had preceded the treaty, and we think that we have sufficiently proved that the laws granted then to the anti-Romanists a perfect equality with their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. The assertion that no law ever mentioned their admission to public offices, is a most absurd subterfuge; an express law was requisite for their exclusion, but their admission, in the absence of such a law, was of common right, and the confederation of 1573, which became the fundamental law of the country, was confirmed by so many enactments, and subscribed to with so many royal oaths, as to establish perfect equality amongst all Christian confessions. The reference to the laws of 1717 is also incorrect, because they restricted the liberty of religious exercise only of the Protestants, without even mentioning their

* Vol. ii. page 289.

political rights, which were abolished by the diet of 1733 and 1736, and not before. The allusion, however, to the treaty with Russia, by which a reciprocal toleration of the Roman Catholic religion in the provinces ceded to Russia, and of the Greek in the Polish dominions, was agreed to, was quite correct, but the above-mentioned stipulations were contained in the treaty of Andruszow, concluded in 1667, and confirmed by that of Moscow in 1686, by which time all the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the provinces ceded in 1667 had been compelled to change their religion. The only statesman-like reason given by the ambassador for the exclusion of the anti-Romanists from the legislation of the country, was the facility by which any malevolent person might impede the transaction of the most important affairs of the country; and it should have been added, that as the Protestants could not be protected by the laws against the persecution of the clergy, which defied those laws, it was safer to exclude them from the legislative body, lest, irritated by oppression, they should seek to avenge their wrongs by impeding the march of public affairs. Experience, however, proved that the Roman Catholic unity of the diets was by no means conducive to the unity of their deliberations, because of the fifteen diets which were convoked during the reign of Augustus the Third, only two, those of 1734 and 1736, took place, whilst all the others

were dissolved without producing any enactment whatever. The only answer which the Polish ambassador ought to have given was, that the foreign powers had no more right to interfere with the domestic affairs of Poland than Poland in theirs; but since the shameful sacrifice of the national force to the interests of Roman domination by the fatal treaty of 1717, it would have been absurd to assume language befitting independence, seeing that there were no means of asserting it. It is indeed with a deep feeling of pain that we fulfil the duty of the historian, and record a transaction so disgraceful as that of resorting in a domestic quarrel to the decision of a foreign power, believing conscientiously, that had our lot been cast in those times, we should have rather submitted to every kind of oppression from our own countrymen than have contributed to such a degradation of national dignity.

The arguments which the Protestant delegate opposed to those of the ambassadors, and which we have extracted from the same author, were also more specious than just. Instead of supporting the legality of the rights which he defended by the numerous enactments that established perfect equality amongst citizens professing different religions, he defended them on grounds derived from political theories. He maintained that the political constitution of Poland was based on the equality of citizens;

that the sovereignty belonged to the assembly of all the nobles ; that that assembly was purely political, temporal, and civil, and was not dependent from any spiritual authority ; that the constitutions (laws) of Poland did not mention the admission of dissidents to public offices, because it was understood without such mention, and there was no necessity that citizens equal amongst themselves should enter into particular details about a *status* which was known and defined ; that the decisions of the sovereign could not be made available against them, as they were themselves a part of that sovereign ; that the refusal to admit them (to the rights of others) was equivalent to a proclamation of the dissolution of the society, and to a declaration that every one was restored to his primitive liberty, and master to provide for his own safety in the manner that might appear best to him. He did not appeal to the ancient treaties of Poland with foreign powers, but he maintained that the dissidents, by their separation from the rest of the Polish republic, returned to the primitive state ; that the legislature could not in such a case have any right to exercise against them, because, having deprived itself of a part of its members, it had resigned the authority which it theretofore had possessed over them ; and that because it was the stronger party which separated itself from the weaker one, this circumstance did by no

means alter the rights of the latter, which, being free, independent, and sovereign, like the other, was placed in the case of a legitimate defence, and had the right of adopting all the means which its weakness enabled it to do ; that in such a case the assistance of neighbouring powers became natural and legitimate, and need not to be authorized by preceding guarantees. In reply to the instances adduced from the history of other countries, he observed, that they were no authority for a state which was self-sustained, and that there could be no parallel between their governments and that of Poland ; that in Holland and England, where the Protestant religion had established public liberty, there were two classes of citizens, the victors and the vanquished, and that certainly it could not be desirable to expose the constitution of Poland to similar trials.

Catherine, without entering into any of the reasons adduced for and against the dissidents, and without giving any other motive than her own will, presented a note to the Polish ambassador, wherein the claims above-mentioned were somewhat modified, adding, that if her demands were not granted she would extend them beyond limit.

Peremptory demand of Catherine to restore the rights of the dissidents.

The resistance to the claims of the dissidents was made meanwhile a rallying point for an opposition, not only to foreign influence, but even to the reforms introduced by the Czartoryskis, which

The claims of the dissidents converted into a pretence for political struggle.

were considered by many as an abridgment of the liberties of the nation.

Gaetan Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, supported by all the clergy, became the leader of that opposition, and the part which he played in these troubled times deserves a short notice of his character.

Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, becomes the head of the party which opposes the claims of the dissidents, as well as the reforms introduced by the Czartoryskis.

Soltyk belonged to a distinguished family, and possessed extraordinary firmness of character. He is accused of immoderate pride; but it was, perhaps, this very quality which inspired him with an unshaken firmness of purpose in all his resolves. Having embraced the party of Stanislaw Leszczyński (1733), he was seized by the Russians and kept in severe captivity. Released from prison, he went to France; where his fidelity and sufferings in the cause of the father-in-law of Louis the Fifteenth offered to him a prospect of preferment in the church, but, having been recalled to Poland by some family affairs, he was forgotten by his patrons in France. Having, by means of some early connexions, gained the favour of Count Brühl, he was elevated to high ecclesiastical dignities by Augustus the Third, and became strongly attached to the Saxon dynasty. His violent opposition to the claims of the dissidents is held by contemporary writers to have originated entirely in political motives, and he is described as being not only

free from religious fanaticism, but even accused of being a known free-thinker.*

* Walch, who wrote only a few years after the events which we are relating, and who positively states that he received many materials for his work from verbal communications of several individuals who had an opportunity of judging from personal observation of the principal characters who took a prominent part in the Polish affairs of that time, in describing the violent opposition offered by Soltyk to the claims of the dissidents, at the diet of 1766, makes the following remarks:—"It is difficult to say what spirit, what convictions, and what hopes, animated such proceedings. It is difficult to believe that it was purely religious zeal. Many, at least, knew and said of Soltyk, that he was impelled to speak in such an enthusiastic, and likewise barbarous manner, by a motive which was any thing but a love of religion, for he was known as a pretty open free-thinker. Most persons believed that it was his personal enmity towards the king and the royal family which induced him to adopt such measures. He was always devoted to the Saxon court, to which he owed his elevation, and he was a particular friend of Count Mniszeck, son-in-law of Count Brühl. It is, therefore, believed that he had formed a scheme to convert the dissidents into a secret stumbling-stone, on which the credit of the king, either with Russia or with the nation, should be wrecked. He sought, at first, to render every action and speech of the monarch a matter equally suspicious to both parties; and would have played this subtle part longer, had not the insulting violence of Prince Repnin forced him into open declarations and the undisguised adoption of a party. His unquenchable hatred of the Russians and the Polish court party led to the fanatic virulence with which he opposed the dissidents, whom he held to be favoured by the king, and at the king's intercession protected by the Russians. Some persons pretend to have observed that he soon afterwards changed his opinion on that point, having perceived

The position of the king, placed as he was between the pressing exactions of Russia and the strong party that opposed them, was a very difficult one. Having withdrawn from the influence of his uncles, the princes Czartoryski, and abandoned himself to the profligate companions of his youth, he found himself in a dilemma whence neither he himself, nor his associates, had sufficient ability to extricate him. He was reluctantly compelled to seek assistance from his uncles, and following their advice he assembled the bishops, and represented to them, that if they were determined not to treat with the dissidents as with their equals, and not to grant them any privileges except by way of indulgence and favour, and always consider them as a tolerated sect, it was necessary that the nation should

perceived that the equality of the dissidents was by no means to the taste of the king. The "*Journal de Savans*," tom. 36, November 1771, page 330, supposes that this fanaticism was created by causes purely political, and that it originated with the discontented party who had left the diet of convocation (*i. e.* those who opposed the reforms introduced by the Czartoryskis, vide page 475), and the generals and treasurers whose authority had been circumscribed (by the same reforms). The unknown English author (Lind) of the "*Letters on the Present State of Poland*," page 46, thinks to discover another cause of it, and relates that the bishop was misled and excited to such steps by the machinations of a foreign court, which promoted the claims of the dissidents only in appearance.—Vide Walch's "*Neueste Kirchengeschichte*," vol. iv. page 35.

begin by insuring its independence, that it should become sufficiently strong to exclude entirely the influence of foreign powers ; that such a resolution must not be the imprudent and hurried decision of a tumultuary council, but the resolution of a courageous nation ready to sacrifice every thing for the defence of its religion and laws ; and, consequently, that they should endow the government with power to increase the army and employ it for the defence of the country ; and that the only means of attaining that object was to make an enactment that the increase of the army should be thenceforth no more subject to the *liberum veto*, but that all motions relating to that subject should be decided by the plurality of votes. Almost all the bishops and senators solemnly promised to put the government in a condition to support the refusal of the demands made by foreign cabinets, and to employ all their influence at the diet for the passing of an enactment so necessary. The king, confiding in this support, gave to the Russian ambassador, Prince Repnin, at a public audience, a civil but decided rejection of the demands of his court.

At the opening of the diet, in 1766, Soltyk seized the first opportunity on which religion was mentioned to deliver a violent speech against the dissidents, accusing them of having, contrary to the prohibitions of the law, sought the protection of foreign powers, and proposed that the privi-

The king represents to the bishops, that if they wished him to resist the demands of the foreign courts, they should afford to him the means for such a resistance.

The bishop of Cracow demands, at the opening of the diet of 1766, the rejection of the claims of the dissidents, as well as the abolition of the new reforms in-

roduced by
the Czartory-
skis.

villeges which they had demanded in such a criminal manner should not only not be granted to them, but that they should only enjoy simple toleration, and suffer death if in future they should be convicted of having recourse to such assistance. The whole body of bishops united with Soltyk in demanding from the diet the adoption of the law proposed by him, and the motion was received with general acclamation. It was on the point of being signed, but the king prevented it, under pretence that it was contrary to the order of procedure in the diet, to discuss in such a manner and at such a moment this important matter. After some interruption Soltyk proceeded in his speech, requesting the king, in the name of the republic, to obtain from Catherine the complete evacuation of the country by the Russian troops, and an indemnity for the damages they had caused to the inhabitants. He demanded that the general confederation of the Czartoryskis should be abolished, predicting (and referring to the example of the republic at Rome,) that liberty would be lost if that dictatorship should become perpetual. He demanded also that the instructions given by the king to his ministers at the foreign courts, and particularly to those at St. Petersburg and Vienna, should be communicated to the diet. Thus the prelate, in opposing those claims of the dissidents which were supported by foreign powers, was aiding in the

execution of projects which those powers had conceived for the purpose of destroying the national government; for he confounded with those claims the only measures that could enable Poland to resist foreign influence, and we shall see that during the same diet the ministers of Russia and Prussia exacted the dissolution of the very confederation which Soltyk had denounced as threatening the country with the loss of its liberty. It was, indeed, absurd to require from the king that he should demand the recal of Russian troops without previously giving him the means wherewith to enforce such a demand. Had the bishops, instead of declaiming against the dissidents, employed all their influence to promote the abolition of the *liberum veto*, to extend the authority of the government, and above all to increase the national force, they would have had a right to urge the king to repel foreign influence. It was indeed the greatest inconsistency to protest at one and the same time against foreign influence, and against the adoption of the only means that could rid the country of it. Alas! why did not these prelates, whose patriotism is above suspicion, display a zeal for the unity and authority of the government of their country equal to that which they manifested for those of their church? Had they united sincerely with the court, as they promised the king, their influence would have induced the nation, in spite

of foreign opposition, to complete the salutary reforms begun by the Czartoryskis, and the establishment of a strong government would have saved the independence of the nation. This fatality seems to have attached to the influence of Rome on Poland, that whenever the interests of that alien power came into collision with those of the country, the latter never prospered; and the religious zeal of the bishops seems to have blinded their judgment to the real interests of the country, even in cases where they were not opposed to those of the church. Soltyk, notwithstanding his uncompromising patriotism, proved, on that occasion, that he knew better how to suffer for the independence of his country than to defend it. Notwithstanding his eloquent opposition, the united parties of the king and the Czartoryskis achieved a victory on all subjects unconnected with religion. In order to elude the fanaticism of the majority, and to gain time for the completion of the reforms already commenced, a commission of bishops was appointed for the examination of the grievances of the dissidents, and directed to furnish a report thereon towards the close of the session. The advantages of the reforms were proved to the diet; the report of the new committee of finances showed a surplus of the revenue over the expenditure, and a considerable sum in the public treasury, which theretofore had been always empty. Notwith-

standing the opposition of several nuncios, the Czartoryskis succeeded by their exertions in passing some laws that considerably increased the authority of the government; and the court, encouraged by such assistance, believed that it could relieve the country from foreign influence, and began, by memorials publicly addressed, to demand from the ambassador of Russia the withdrawal of its troops.

The Russian ambassador meanwhile was not idle, and sought to become intimate with all those who had manifested a marked opposition to the reforms introduced by the king and the Czartoryskis. He complimented them on their zeal and patriotism, and assured them that he had made the most favourable reports of them to his empress, promising to them her protection. He excited them to attack at the diet the above-mentioned reforms, assuring them that they would be supported by many whom they expected not to do so. He abandoned entirely the affair of the dissidents, and courted those who opposed their claims. He, together with the Prussian minister, presented themselves to the Poles as the defenders of their liberty, and insinuated in their conversation that the time was come when the nation should recover its rights. They courted the friends of prince Radziwill, (who was obliged to flee the country on account of his opposition to the new monarch,) as well as the partizans of

Successful machinations of the ministers of Russia and Prussia for the abolition of the new reforms.

Machinations of the foreign ministers, in order to raise an opposition to the king, and abolish the reforms introduced by the Czartoryskis.

the Saxon dynasty, amongst whom there was a great number of all ranks, including several ladies, who had lost either the influence they had enjoyed at the court or the situations they had held under the above-mentioned dynasty. All these means were employed to corrupt and lead astray a great number of persons generally acting on their best feelings. Podoski, referendary of the crown, a clergyman, devoted to the Saxon family, became on that occasion the most zealous agent of the above-mentioned foreign ministers, in order to dethrone the king and place in his stead a Saxon prince, and he seduced many patriotic citizens to embrace the views of the Russian ambassador.*

†
* Podoski was a man of good family and educated for the church, but his tastes were not at all clerical, as he was fond of every kind of luxury. Being still very young he formed a *liaison* with a young Lutheran widow, very rich, who furnished the table of the king and of Brühl, and was brought into the notice of the latter by some acquaintances formed in her house. Having been employed by that minister on some affairs he displayed much talent, and being placed about the royal princes, contributed much to the election of one of them (prince Charles) to the dukedom of Courland, for which he was rewarded by the charge of the ecclesiastical referendary of the crown, a rich abbey, and the order of the White Eagle. His known attachment to the Saxon dynasty, and his exertions in their cause, drew on him the personal enmity of the king, who having tried in vain to gain him over to his party, seized many opportunities to injure his interests. He lived for some time retired in the country, but arrived at Warsaw before the diet

The danger of such an alliance was in vain represented to them, by the example of all those who, having attached themselves to Russia, were sooner or later sacrificed by that power; they answered those wise remonstrances, that it was important to recover the liberty which was lost, and to overthrow the work of a detested family; and that, whatever might be the intentions of Russia, it was necessary to take advantage of the assistance which it offered on that occasion; that it was a violent remedy against a desperate illness; that it was necessary to break the yoke, and to postpone to a more happy period the task of establishing a better government. Thus forgetting that liberty without national independence is but an empty word, many of the most respected citizens did not hesitate to ally themselves with the enemies of the state, and even the bishop of

diet of 1766, on purpose to counteract the court. Having pronounced himself openly in favour of the claims of the dissidents, he promised to the Russian ambassador to support them; this circumstance led to an intimacy with that ambassador, and he became the most zealous promoter of his schemes against Poniatowski, whom he expected to dethrone and procure the crown for the Saxon dynasty. Podoski continued his *liaison* with the Lutheran widow all his life, so that as in his earlier years he was master in her shop, she was afterwards, when he had become primate, mistress in his palace. It was believed that he secretly conformed to her persuasion, and that they were united by a clandestine marriage.

Cracow was for some time very near to unite with Repnin.

Vain attempt of the monarch to preserve and develop the commenced reforms.

The king was either ignorant of these machinations or thought himself sufficiently strong to despise them, and attempted to establish in a positive manner the project, that the increase of the army and the levying of taxes should always be decided by the majority of votes, and which the new laws, introduced by the Czartoryskis, would effect, rather by evading the condition of unanimity in such cases, than by abolishing it altogether. But as soon as this project was proposed a violent opposition was raised from all parts; it was received with a clamour of indignation by the spectators in the galleries, and several nuncios who seemed to be devoted to the king, turned on that occasion against him. The unfortunate monarch was so affected that he swooned on his throne, and was ill for several days, during which he bitterly repented having ever sought the crown.

The Russian ambassador, who supported the opposition, demands the abolition of all the new reforms.

The Russian ambassador, Repnin, having attained his object, declared that his court would never permit an increase of the army or any new tax, and that if any such projects were adopted by the diet it would be considered equivalent to the declaration of war. He demanded also, in the name of his empress, that all the new laws should be explained, and all those captious

expressions, by which it was endeavoured to abrogate the law of unanimity in several affairs, should be fixed in a precise manner, so that this law should be safe from every attempt at perverting it, and that the confederation of the Czar-toryskis should be dissolved. This humiliating demand would have been scarcely ventured upon by Repnin, had not the diet abdicated the national independence, by a wilful destruction of the only means which could save it.

The king tried in vain to oppose the influence of the same power, which having placed him on the throne, now prevented his strengthening its authority. He found no support amongst the nation, in whom his vacillating character had not inspired any confidence. Meanwhile Repnin received the orders of Catherine to moderate her demands in favour of the dissidents, at the time when he was seeking to come to an understanding with the bishop of Cracow for the abolition of the reforms introduced by the Czar-toryskis. He proposed to Soltyk, by means of Podoski, the project of an agreement about the affairs relating to religion; and they agreed that the dissidents should have access to some provincial charges, and might be elected in the number of two from each province* as deputies to the supreme tribunal. The affairs which disturbed

An agreement on religious affairs, which is on the point of being concluded, is broken off by fresh orders from St. Petersburg.

* Great and Little Poland and Lithuania.

the public peace were apparently on the point of being settled, when new orders from St. Petersburg overturned all such expectations. Catherine, having learned with indignation the bold resolutions manifested by the king at the beginning of the diet, resolved to make him feel her power. Frederick the Second, likewise irritated against the same monarch for the attempt of getting rid of foreign influence, wrote to the empress of Russia, representing that it did not suffice to establish in Poland the liberty of religious exercise for all the confessions, but to restore the dissident nobility to a perfect equality of rights. At the same time Catherine was delivered from all apprehensions of immediate danger on the part of Turkey, which urgently demanded the complete evacuation of the Polish territory by the troops of Russia. An earthquake, which destroyed the chief public buildings of Constantinople and caused great damages, produced a general discontent amongst the superstitious population, which ascribed such a calamity to the wrath of Heaven against their authorities. The Turkish government, therefore, absorbed by the task of repairing the destruction caused by the earthquake, and of allaying the discontent of a fanatical populace, was too much occupied at home to pay proper attention to its interests abroad, and abandoned for some time the affairs of Poland.

The empress delivered then to the delegate of the dissidents a written promise, signed by herself and the principal members of her council, that the efforts which they should make by forming a confederation and wresting by force what the republic was refusing to them, would be supported by an army of forty thousand men. At the same time she dispatched an order to Repnin not to admit of any modification to the demands made in favour of the dissidents. Repnin demanded a public audience of the states, and presented to the king a memorial containing the claims of the dissidents. He added, in the same document, "that the constant refusal of rendering justice to them would break the contract which united them to the rest of the nation, and fully restore to them with the natural liberty that of appealing to mankind, and of choosing for themselves amongst the neighbouring nations, judges, allies, and protectors"—an ultra-liberal doctrine, indeed, which appeared strangely enough supported by the minister of a despotic power. The Prussian minister appeared also at the diet recommending the same affair, but with much less emphasis; and, it is said, that whilst he openly advocated the claims of the dissidents, he secretly assured the bishops and their most fanatical adherents, that his master would not be offended by their refusal.* The English resi-

The dissidents are excited by the court of Russia to wrest by force the rights and privileges they claimed.

* Rulhière, "*Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne*," vol. ii. p. 341.

Representations of the Prussian, English, and Danish ministers in favour of the dissidents, and that of the Papal nuncio against them.

dent, Wroughton, and the Danish, St. Saphorin, presented notes of a similar tenour, although couched in more moderate language. On the other side, the nuncio of the Pope, Visconti, archbishop of Ephesus, delivered, on the 12th November, an eloquent speech, in Latin, to the assembled diet, violently inveighing against the concession to the anti-Romanists of equal rights with the Roman Catholics, and against the reiteration of the *unfortunate* times of Sigismund Augustus ; he expressed also his apprehension, that if such concession was made to the dissidents, they might by their ability, experience, and superior political sagacity, make their way through the senate to the throne. He finally advised entirely to abolish in the country the religious exercise of every anti-Romanist confession, because the liberty of such exercise was in itself an injury done to the Roman Catholic church and a violation of its laws. The nuncio's speech was received with great enthusiasm, notwithstanding the insult which it contained to the nation by the absurd assertion, that the small minority of the Protestants was so superior in intelligence to the whole of their Roman Catholic countrymen, that by acquiring equal rights they would become an overmatch for them. We are not astonished at Visconti calling the times of Sigismund Augustus *unfortunate*, because that most brilliant era in the annals of Poland was

indeed such to the influence of Rome in that country. Pope Clement the Thirteenth addressed also a *breve* to the primate, recommending him not only to refuse every concession to the dissidents, but even to restrict the religious liberty which they still enjoyed.

The king convoked the bishops, and charged them again to examine, in regular conferences, the complaints of the dissidents, and the wrongs which might have been done to the toleration which they enjoyed. He seized this affair as a means to avenge on Soltyk the opposition which he had offered to the restrictions of the *liberum veto*, by compromising him with the Russian ambassador, by whom he was assisted in that opposition, and to counteract by it the abolition of the new reforms. Thus, whenever some members of the opposition begun to broach the abolition of the new laws, the adherents of the court sought to give another turn to the attention of the diet, by presenting the claims of the Protestants, and, at the first tumult which was caused by such a motion, the king broke up the meeting. The court flattered itself that by gaining time in such a manner the period of the session would elapse, and the diet separate without having time for abolishing the new laws. The manœuvre proved, however, unsuccessful; the nation, enamoured of its liberties, and fearing above all to see a despotic power on the throne, became exasperated by the

The king tries to turn the affair of the dissidents into a means of preventing the abolition of the new laws.

stratagems with which the court tried to defend the new laws, and projects of the most violent nature were entertained by some fanatical lovers of liberty. Two nobles, Zakrzewski and Tresenberg, were the most zealous amongst them, and concerted with six others the project of murdering the king, and all those senators whom they believed to be devoted to him, at the first tumult which might arise at the diet. Meanwhile the ministers of Russia and Prussia violently insisted on the explanation of the laws restricting the *liberum veto* and the dissolution of the general confederation of the Czartoryskis, granting to the diet only a delay of twenty-four hours. The Prussian minister announced, that if this affair should be delayed any longer twelve thousand Prussian soldiers would enter the Polish territory. At the meeting of the diet which followed such a pressing injunction, a Russian colonel presented himself with the declaration, "that if long remonstrances effected nothing, two lines would be sufficient to obtain every thing." But at the moment when the diet was preparing itself to deliberate on that subject, the chancellor began to read the projects relating to the dissidents; one proposed at the beginning of the diet by the bishop of Cracow, and another contrary to it and favourable to them. This produced a general clamour: a tumultuous outcry was raised for signing the project by which all the prerogatives of reli-

Imperious demand of the Russian and Prussian ministers of the restoration of the *liberum veto* in its full vigour.

Tumultuous scene at the diet, created by an attempt of the king to evade the restoration of the *liberum veto* by presenting the affairs of the dissidents.

gion were assured, and penalties of high treason enacted against all those who should implore foreign protection. The bishop of Cracow, perceiving that the court had succeeded in giving another direction to the attention of the multitude, and wished to evade by means of the affair of religion the abrogation of the new laws, remained silent, notwithstanding the reproaches addressed to him, that he connived to the designs of Russia. At last, when the tumult was still increasing, the king resolved to break up the meeting, and called, according to custom, the ministers to the throne. A momentary calm ensued, but as soon as the chancellor proceeded to the usual formality for the adjournment of the meeting a terrible noise was raised. A part of the senate, the nuncios, and even the spectators, assumed the right of opposing the royal prerogative. All were crying, "We do not consent! It is not permitted!" and amongst this clamour a few voices were heard exclaiming, "Kill! massacre!" The king, terrified by such menaces, threw himself into the crowd which surrounded the throne, and escaped from the hall of assembly. The opposition party attempted to continue the meeting, against all established forms, and called to the prelate to preside; exclaiming, "that the throne being filled as it was, might be considered as vacant." The primate having refused to act in such an illegal manner, was covered with abuse,

and the assembly separated, uttering menaces and imprecations. The ministers of Russia and Prussia violently reproached the king with the artifice employed by him to prevent the restoration of the *liberum veto* in all its vigour, and menaced him with the personal vengeance of their sovereigns, should he longer refuse to act conformably to their views.

Abolition of the reforms introduced by the Czartoryskis.

The princes Czartoryski, perceiving the danger and the inutility of defending longer the reforms they had introduced against the violent attacks of the great majority of the nation, supported by the ministers of Prussia and Russia, consented to propose themselves their abolition. Prince August Czartoryski presented himself the demands of the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, and the *liberum veto* was re-established in all its vigour, to the great joy of the infatuated multitude, which was exulting at its deliverance from an imaginary despotism, forgetting the real yoke under which it was kept by a foreign power.

Some insignificant concessions, which are proposed by the bishop of Cracow to the dissidents, are rejected by them.

On the second day, the bishops endeavoured to prove to the foreign ministers that there had never been any convention made with a foreign power respecting the dissidents; but Soltyk declared that he was ready to make to the dissidents the following concessions: that all their affairs should be judged by civil tribunals; that they should have the liberty in all parts of Poland to exercise their religion, and to teach their doc-

trine in their own houses ; and that they should be admitted in the new military schools as pupils and as masters, because they could always possess all military grades. These concessions were agreed to by the diet, but the dissidents rejected them, declaring that they preferred to be rather completely put down than raised by halves ; and we do not think that they would have been suffered by their protectors to accept them.

The diet of 1766 having destroyed by its infatuation the only means of creating a resistance to the intervention of the foreign powers, could not awe into respect the same powers by the rejection of their demands in favour of the dissidents. The courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin concluded a treaty in January 1767, by which they bound themselves to restore the Polish dissidents to all their ancient rights and privileges, and manifested their project by especial publications.* The dissidents were excited by Russia to form confederations, in order to recover by force their rights ; and they formed one at Thorn under the marshal Goltz, a Lutheran, and another at Sluck, in Lithuania, under the marshal Grabowski, belonging

Dissident confederations of Thorn and Sluck.

* The court of Russia published, on that occasion, a pamphlet, entitled "*Declaratio ab Augusta omnium Russiarum Imperatrice serenissimo.*"—*Reg. Reipublicæque Poloniæ facta.* Petropoli, also, "*Expositio jurium eorum qui dissidentium nomine veniunt summarum que potestatum quarum partes illorum tueri interest.*"—*Ibid.* Prussia published also a declaration.

to the reformed confession.* These two confederations, formed under the cover of a Russian force, were composed only of Protestants and of the Greek bishop of Mohiloff, as there were no longer any nobles belonging to the Eastern church in Poland, although a great number of its followers were found amongst the peasants. Both dissident confederations reckoned only five hundred and seventy-three members; and many Protestants, indeed, loudly disapproved of such violent measures, saying, that the safety of the country was the first law, and that it was much better to suffer abuses, which by progress of time had acquired force of laws, and to submit to the injustice of their own countrymen, than to expose the state to commotions dangerous to its independence.† They were, however, unable to retrace their steps, and a great number of them were compelled by the Russian troops unwillingly to join those con-

* These confederations published manifestoes exposing their grievances, protesting that they had no hostile intentions against the Roman Catholic church, and inviting all its moderate followers to join them in their efforts to recover their ancient rights. They claimed, at the same time, the protection of Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, and Denmark.

† Vide Rhulhière, vol. ii. page 352, ed. 1819. The "*Journal de Savans*," an. 1771, tome xxxvi. p. 331, states that the Protestants bitterly regretted having become the tools of foreign influence and a pretence for commotion.—*Apud Walch*, vol. iv. p. 12.

federations, which was especially the case with the towns of Polish Prussia. They sent a deputation to the king, who refused for some time to receive them, maintaining that the Protestant nobles had no right to form confederations; he finally did so, but only merely as delegates from the Protestants. When admitted to the royal presence, they justified their recourse to the assistance of a foreign power by the example set to it in the highest quarter. There was no answering such a justification. After which, turning to the grandees who surrounded the throne, they implored their assistance, as brothers and children of the same country, and requested that an extraordinary diet should be convoked, in order to restore them to their ancient rights.

The king decided that an assembly of the whole senate should consider the affair of the dissidents; but neither such an assembly, nor a diet, if convoked, had power to redress the grievances complained of, as the majority of the nation was persuaded that Russian interference was solely to be ascribed to the Protestants and their confederations. A circumstance foreign to the interests of the Protestants assisted their cause. Podoski, impelled by hatred of the king and a hope of dethroning him, contrived a plan for uniting all the malcontents against the monarch, and formed a general confederation, the object of which was the introduction into the constitution of the

Podoski
The plan of a general confederation, devised by Podoski, is promoted by Russia.

country regulations more analogous to the liberties of the Polish nobles than those which had been established by the Czartoryskis. Fresh Russian troops entered Poland, and Catherine issued proclamations, expressive of her tender solicitude for Poland, and of the reluctance with which she commanded her troops to enter that country, in order to prevent the parties which divided Poland from attacking each other; adding, that she was bound to act in this manner, not only by the text of treaties, but even by the sacred duties of humanity. At the same time she made the most solemn protestations, that she did not make any pretensions to the Polish territory, the integrity of which she guaranteed. The king of Prussia, also, in a special declaration, recommended the assembling of an extraordinary diet, as an instrument of general pacification. Podoski traversed Poland, striving every where to raise the malcontents; and so successful were his exertions, that even those who always distrusted Russia, were induced to put faith in the positive promises of Catherine. Hatred of the Czartoryskis, and the hope of humiliating their party, as well as of dethroning the king, allured the greater part of the nation. Although neither the declaration of Catherine, nor the letter of her minister, Panin, made any allusion to the dethronement of Poniatowski, Podoski assured every one, in the name of Repnin, that it was determined.

Noblemen of the greatest influence were invited by Repnin, and arrived at Warsaw, in hopes of arranging with him the means of dethroning the king, who being disliked by the nation, having no allies, and neither troops nor money, was abandoned by every one.

The noblemen assembled at Warsaw perceived with great dismay the dictatorial authority which Repnin arrogated to himself in their assemblies, wishing to reduce them to mere ciphers, and exacting from them the signature of declarations, contrary to their own views. Still such was their infatuation that they believed Repnin to be bribed by the king, and to be acting against the will of his empress, whose solemn protestations they refused to disbelieve. Repnin, however, irritated by their opposition, declared that none of them should leave Warsaw until every thing was settled.

Imperious behaviour of Repnin.

A general confederation possessed, according to the ancient laws of Poland, a kind of dictatorial authority ; many, therefore, thought that, having once established such a formidable power, they would be able to get rid of the influence of Russia and carry into execution their own projects. Imbued with this idea, they passed with ease over the many difficulties that opposed the accomplishment of this their grand object. Their hopes were further elated by an order sent from St. Petersburg, which directed that the election of prince

General confederation of Radom.

Charles Radziwill to the post of marshal of the intended confederation should be promoted. Now Radziwill, who enjoyed an immense influence in Lithuania, had been expelled from the country by the Russian troops, on account of his strong opposition to the election of Poniatowski ; this alteration of conduct, therefore, persuaded every body that Catherine had decided on dethroning the king. The discontented noblemen departed for different parts of the country, in order to form separate confederations, which were to be proclaimed simultaneously on the 24th May 1766, and afterwards united into a general one at Radom, a town situated at a distance of seventy English miles from Warsaw.

Radziwill returned to the country, and was elected marshal of the general confederation of Radom, into which all minor ones, including those of the dissidents, merged. This placed the king in the most difficult position, and left him no other means of maintaining himself on the throne than entire submission to the Russian ambassador, prince Repnin, who having attained this object, suddenly turned against the confederates. The town of Radom, where its chiefs were assembled, was surrounded by Russian troops ; and Repnin presented for signature to the confederates a manifesto, which instead of proclaiming a vacancy of the throne, or the adoption of some new regulations, as was ex-

The king becomes reconciled with the Russian ambassador, who suddenly turns against the confederation, and exercises great violence against their chiefs at Radom.

pected by them, proposed that an oath of fidelity to the king, who was thereby invited to accede to the confederation, should be taken ; the claims of the dissidents be recognized ; and an address be forwarded to Catherine, praying her to guarantee the new law which was about to be established ; thus investing her with a title to interfere in the affairs of Poland, and almost with paramount authority over them. This proposition caused a great commotion ; at first, the members of the assembly tried to disperse, but they were prevented from quitting the town by the Russian troops. They then endeavoured to modify the terms demanded by Russia, and to confine the guarantee of the empress and her successors to the rights of the dissidents ; but the Russian commander, Colonel Carr, surrounded with soldiers the house where the assembly held its meetings ; and having placed cannon before it, and soldiers with burning matches, compelled the assembly to sign the manifesto sent by Repnin. Of one hundred and seventy-eight marshals, or chiefs of minor confederation, then assembled, six only signed the document unconditionally, whilst all the others did so with several restrictions.

Meanwhile, the primate Lubienski being dead, Podoski was, by orders of the Russian ambassador, nominated to that dignity,* and became

Podoski becomes primate.

* Rhulhière says that Podoski sought this dignity, not from motives of personal ambition, from which he was quite free

the head of the clergy, of which Soltyk, on account of the age and weakness of Lubienski, had virtually been the chief, a circumstance which had a great influence on public affairs.

We cannot enter here into all the machinations which Russia employed to delude the confederation, in the face of the violence that had been offered to its leaders. Repnin seemingly acceded to the wishes of the confederation, for the convocation of a diet at which to introduce the new laws that were the object of the confederation ; and its leaders, as the only means of resisting Russian oppression, made every possible exertion to increase their number. Soltyk also gave in his adhesion, declaring that he did not wish to insulate himself on such an occasion from the rest of the nation, adding, that he should oppose such claims of the dissidents as his dignity as a Roman Catholic bishop and the interests of his church would not allow him to concede ; but that he would not only allow, but even support, both as senator and as bishop, all their equitable demands, believing that in this last quality he owed it to the republic and to Christendom to set an example.

By the efforts of Repnin, the seat of the confederation was transferred from Radom to Warsaw ;

free, but in order to promote his great scheme of overthrowing Poniatowski and placing a Saxon prince on the throne.—Vol. ii. p. 383.

but Radziwill, its marshal, although ostensibly the chief of the nation, was strictly watched by the Russians, who had penetrated his project of escaping from what he justly regarded as a prison.

The country was struck with consternation, the report of the outrages committed at Radom having spread every where. The priests declaimed from the pulpits against the dissidents, and excited the nation to defend the church from aggression. Many persons, however, saw the real danger that menaced the country, which was the power given to Russia at her will, under pretence that she had guaranteed them the new laws which she was going to dictate to Poland, and thereby of establishing a real protectorate over the country. This consideration induced many noble-minded citizens to become candidates at the elections for the new diet, in order to counteract those preposterous measures into which a great part of the nobles had imprudently suffered themselves to be drawn by the confederation of Radom. Many such patriotic candidates could not, however, be elected, as the country was infested with the troops of Russia, who ravaged the estates and houses of the opponents of that power, and occupying the places of election, compelled the voters, by every kind of violence, to return nuncios favourable to Russian views. The southern provinces bordering on the Turkish

State of the country, and violences committed by the Russian troops.

dominions were almost the only ones that offered some resistance to such a gross violation of the national independence, as the Russian troops avoided approaching the frontiers of Turkey, with which power Catherine wished to remain at peace.

Moderation of the bishop of Cracow, who is on the point of arranging with the Protestants an amicable agreement, but which is interrupted by the Russian ambassador.

Soltyk, whose estates were ravaged and castles pillaged by orders of Repnin, observed great moderation, and induced several other bishops to adopt tolerant views towards the dissidents. He tried to come to an understanding with their delegates for the exclusion of all foreign interference. He found them willing to meet his wishes, and began to hold regular conferences with them, in order to settle amicably this important affair. Happy, indeed, would it have been for both parties, if an agreement could have been concluded in that manner ; for it would have been much better for the Protestants to receive moderate concessions from the free-will of their own countrymen, than to have a full equality of rights, if wrested from their opponents by the unlawful interference of a foreign power. But Repnin, perceiving that the Protestants were drawing nearer to their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, interfered violently ; and one day when their delegates were going to dine at the bishop of Cracow's, forbade them to do so, and heaping insult and oppression on both parties, pretended that Soltyk wished to poison his guests. This

circumstance shows to what degradation the protection of Russia was leading, and to what slavery those were obliged to submit who had the misfortune to fall under it.

Soltyk bore the indignity with great calmness ; and all his political system at that time consisted in offering a passive resistance to the tyranny exercised by Repnin. He wished, therefore, that all the leading persons of the country should assemble at Warsaw ; and he believed that a firm resolution manifested by them all to submit to any thing rather than concessions derogating from the interests and dignity of the country would induce Catherine, who was anxious for glory, to abandon projects that could not be executed except by tyrannical means. He believed, also, with many others, that the Roman Catholic powers, and Austria in particular, would interfere against the tyrannical sway which Russia arrogated to herself over Poland ; and, indeed, every sound principle of policy seemed to dictate such a conduct to Austria. Moreover, it was known that France sought to raise enemies to Russia. But woe to a nation which relies for its independence on any other support than her own energy and strength ! The Catholic powers made no effort to deliver Poland from the oppression of Russia ; and Austria, the principal of them, instead of opposing that power, became soon afterwards its accomplice-partner in the spoliation of

Line of policy
adopted by Sol-
tyk.

Poland. Catherine, too, was not restrained by any such noble feelings as those which Soltyk ascribed to her, from committing the most flagrant violences, of which he himself became a victim.

The bishop of
Kamieniec.

Another prelate, who was destined to act a prominent part in those troubled times, Krasinski, bishop of Kamieniec, perceived the erroneous course of policy adopted by Soltyk, and wrote to him, in answer to his invitation to join the diet at Warsaw: "It is impossible to manage the Russians otherwise than by the force of arms. The superiority of your mind will not persuade them that their policy is wrong, nor will your firmness inspire them with respect. You will resemble those virtuous senators of Rome, who endued themselves with their robes of purple, and received the invading barbarians with a calm dignity. I tremble at the fate to which you are going to expose yourself. If you think me only fit for a martyr, I am ready to join you; but if I can serve my country in a more useful manner, I must preserve my life." Krasinski withdrew to his estates on the frontiers of Turkey, and opened an active correspondence with the Ottoman court, which jealously watched the proceedings of Russia in Poland, and addressed strong representations to the court of St. Petersburg on that subject. He began, also, zealously to impress on the minds of his countrymen the necessity of

organizing an armed resistance to Russia, as the only means of liberating the country.

The new primate, Podoski, thought that Poland was so divided by factions, and so far occupied by the troops of Russia, as to have no means of resisting that power ; and consequently that the best course to be adopted was to submit to the laws which were about to be imposed, and so gain a period of peace and tranquillity, in which to await the occurrence of circumstances that should enable the nation to get rid of the unwelcome protectorate, and amend its political institutions.

Plans of Podoski.

A few days before the opening of the diet, Repnin assembled the bishops, and declared to them in a peremptory manner that the "claims of the dissidents must be fully confirmed ; for that on this point all the courts of Europe had agreed, and that the honour of the empress was interested in that affair." He added the unanswerable remark, " that he felt that a Pole could not but complain of being forced in this manner, and that the Poles should either expel the Russians if they could, or if not, submit to his orders ; and that whoever should resist would have reason to repent." This insulting address had indeed been richly deserved by the bishops, by the assistance which they had lent to the ambassador at the diet of 1766, in opposing the increase of the na-

Imperious demand of Repnin for the satisfaction of the claims of the dissidents.

tional force, and in destroying what they called the dictatorial authority of the confederation.

Exertions of the
papal nuncio.

A newly-arrived nuncio of the pope exerted himself with even more zeal than his predecessor to excite public opinion against any concession to the dissidents, and Soltyk, as well as several other bishops, were required rather to expose themselves to the last extremity than to submit to their demands.

Project of deciding the most important affairs of the state by a commission, violating the constitution of the country and the principles of international law.

At the opening of the diet (8th October 1767), a new and unprecedented proposition was submitted to it in the name of its marshal, prince Radziwill, who was at that time watched as a prisoner by the Russians, to the effect "that the friendship and alliance of the empress of Russia were the only resources on which the republic of Poland could rely for the maintenance of its liberties ; it was expedient to appoint a commission, composed of delegates from the senate and the equestrian order, which should be charged to establish a good form of government ; that such commission should make an inquiry into all the abuses that had been introduced into the republic ; that it should admit amongst its members, and allow to take a part in its deliberations concerning the welfare of the republic, as well the delegates of the dissidents as the foreign ministers ; that this commission should have sovereign authority to enact, conclude, and sign all

that it might think proper relative to the affairs of religion, form of government, laws, frontiers of the country, &c. ;" that all its decisions on these points should be regarded as a treaty concluded between Poland and Russia, and a fundamental law of the Polish nation ; and that when this treaty should be guaranteed by the empress of Russia, it should be confirmed by a diet without examination or discussion." Thus the claims of the dissidents were presented as a part of a project which was nothing less than a legal subjection of the country to the protectorate of Russia, and an implicit submission made before-hand to the laws which that power was going to dictate. It was, indeed, impossible to amalgamate claims, just in their essence, with demands of injustice more revolting or more derogatory to the national dignity and independence.

The bishop of Cracow, Soltyk, replied to this motion in a speech full of dignity and moderation : he said that the members of the diet had no right to delegate their powers to others, as they were elected to judge and to decide for themselves. He would not, however, oppose the appointment of the commission, provided that it were charged to give a report only on the laws proposed to the diet, which alone had the right of deciding in such matters. But he did feel that it was a most dangerous project to entrust a com-

Opposition of Soltyk and Rzewuski to such a plan.

mission with sovereign authority over affairs of state, leaving no redress, in case it should betray its trust. He objected to the treaty demanded by the ambassador of Russia, because treaties were generally concluded for one of two purposes: either that an alliance might be contracted or a war terminated, neither of which could the country then have in view, for it was at peace with Russia, and the declaration of the empress made no mention of an alliance. With regard to the affairs of the dissidents, not only from a regard to the interest which the empress took in their cause, but also from a sense of the duty of rendering justice to every one—a duty from which no dispensation could be granted—he was of opinion that a commission should be appointed to inquire into their grievances and claims, and report thereon to the diet. Soltyk was seconded by Rzewuski, palatine of Cracow, in an eloquent speech. The meeting of the diet terminated on that day without farther discussion; but at its opening on the second day, Zaluski, bishop of Kiov,* read two *breves* of the pope, addressed to the senate and the equestrian order of Poland, both full of exhortations to defend what was called the cause of religion. Rzewuski, son of the palatine of Cracow, nuncio of Podo-

* The founder of the splendid library at Warsaw.—Vide Preface.

lia, distinguished himself on that day by an exposure of the abuses and oppression to which the country was subjected. After some opposition, the project of the commission was ordered to be printed, and the sittings of the diet were adjourned for six days. This delay served only to convince every body of the dangerous nature of the proposed scheme, and strong opposition was manifested to it at the re-opening of the diet. The Russian ambassador, Repnin, perceiving that he could not carry into execution his projects without recurring to the extreme of violence, resolved to act in conformity with the exigencies of his case. Warsaw was surrounded and filled with Russian troops, and Soltyk, who was justly considered the head of the opposition, and menaced as such with the vengeance of Russia, made up his mind to become the martyr of the cause he defended. The Prussian minister tried in vain to mollify him, representing to him the dangers to which he was exposed, and conjuring him to avert them by a submission to that which it was impossible to resist. He was seized, as were the bishop, Zaluski, the palatine of Cracow, Rzewuski, and his son, and were all carried away under an escort into the interior of Russia. The bishop of Kamieniec, Krasinski, who was destined by Repnin to share their fate, avoided it by not proceeding to Warsaw, as he had been expected to do. This violation of every right and law struck

Soltyk is seized with the other leaders of opposition, and carried into the interior of Russia.

Fruitless attempt of the diet to obtain some modifications of the proposed commission.

dismay into the diet, which was already under restraint, as none of its members were permitted to leave Warsaw. Resistance was impossible, and nothing remained but to subscribe to propositions presented at the points of Russian bayonets. The diet tried to obtain from Repnin that the guarantee of the empress should extend only to the fundamental laws of the nation, and to the concessions to be granted to the dissidents; that the Russian troops, which infested the country and perpetrated so many outrages, should not be named auxiliary, and that the powers of the commissioners should not be unlimited. But Repnin rejected all those demands, declaring that whoever should dare to oppose the project should be considered as an enemy to his sovereign, and treated as such.

The commission is appointed.

The diet received this answer with the silence of despair. The commissioners were nominated from the senate by the king, and from the nuncios by the marshal; their number was sixty, and they were presided over by the primate, but the *quorum* was fixed at fourteen. The conferences were held alternately at the houses of the Russian ambassador and the primate. The affair of the dissidents was the first discussed. In addition to the Russian ambassador and the members of the commission, there were present seven Protestant delegates and the Greek bishop of Mohiloff. The minister of Prussia, Benoit; of

England, Wroughton; of Denmark, St. Saphorin; and of Sweden, Baron Düben, who was sent on purpose, also assisted at the conferences relating to this affair, as representatives of the courts which supported the claims of the dissidents, but took no part in those which related to other subjects. After several conferences, it was finally determined that the dissidents should be re-admitted to equal rights and privileges with the Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic religion was declared the dominant one; the monarch was absolutely required to conform to it; and the proposal of the election of a candidate to the throne belonging to an anti-Romanist confession, was declared a crime of high treason, punishable with death; conversion from the Roman Catholic to an anti-Romanist confession was to be punished with exile; whilst the anti-Romanists were allowed to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. The commission further enacted, that unanimity of votes should be absolutely requisite in all matters relating to taxation, increase of the army, and even the confirmation of treaties with foreign powers; a few unimportant matters were left to the decision by a majority of votes. The facility of dissolving the diets by the opposition or *veto* of a single member was increased, and universal suffrage was introduced amongst the numerous class of nobles, each of them being declared capable of voting at the elections, a

The dissidents are restored to their rights and privileges, but in a very preposterous manner.

right which had hitherto been confined to those who were possessed of landed property. These laws, which established principles of the greatest disorder as the basis of the constitution of Poland, were guaranteed by a treaty with Russia, and declared immutable. Thus Poland virtually resigned its independence, conceding to Russia, by that treaty, a right of interfering in the internal concerns of the nation. This most flagrant violation of international law was sanctioned by a legislative enactment, the whole transaction being confirmed by the diet of 1768, which was composed of an incomplete number of members, acting under the same restraint as the commission.*

* The same commission introduced a few salutary regulations concerning the discipline of the army, the judicial courts, and the state of the peasants. Some of the administrative reforms of the Czartoryskis were also maintained. We must not omit a circumstance which reflects credit on the national character in this gloomy period of degradation. The Russian court wished to humble the princes Czartoryski, and to punish them for their daring attempt at reconstructing the constitution of their country. Prince Michel Czartoryski, chancellor of Lithuania, as the principal author of the reforms we have mentioned, was particularly obnoxious to the Russian ambassador, who tried to induce him to divest himself voluntarily of his charge; but the aged prince having rejected all instigations to that effect, demanded to be judged. Notwithstanding the many political opponents of the Czartoryskis, and the great number of personal enemies which the chancellor had made by his haughty demeanour and sarcastic wit, all the bribes offered by the Russian ambassador to find an accuser, or at least a paper signed
by

It was under such melancholy circumstances, and coupled with such degrading conditions to their country, that the Protestants of Poland were restored to their ancient rights and liberties—an event which every patriotic Protestant was much more inclined to deplore than to exult in. We have already stated that the Protestants of Poland, having perceived the fatal nature of the course into which they had been drawn by the influence that ruled the country, in vain wished to retrace their steps; and that the patriotic scheme in which they had joined Soltyk, that, namely, of bringing about mutual good understanding, and dispensing with foreign interference, was prevented by the arbitrary violence of the Russian ambassador. There can be no doubt that the rapid progress made by the national intellect subsequently to that epoch would have gradually restored the Protestants to all their ancient rights and privileges.* There cannot, we think, be a stronger proof of the extent of that progress, or of the generosity of the national character, than this important fact; that notwithstanding the justly odious circumstances under which the Protestants had been restored to their ancient rights and privileges, and that the foreign

Reflections on
that event.

by the chancellor on which an accusation might be founded, proved vain.

* Walch, who was a zealous Protestant, is also of this opinion.

powers which had promoted their interests in such a zealous manner, entirely abandoned them when it mattered to exact from the nation the mock formality of a consent to the first spoliation of the Polish territory,* there has not occurred

* Excesses, it is true, were committed against the Protestants by the confederates of Bar ; but they were neither authorized by the chiefs, nor confined to sectarians not Roman Catholics. Persons of the last-named creed had in their turn to endure outrages which are unavoidable when it becomes necessary to employ irregular bands, amongst which there always are many lawless individuals that make patriotism a pretence for indulging their lust of rapine. The confederation of Bar, the object of which was the liberation of the country from foreign influence, took for its watchword the defence of the Roman Catholic religion ; but it was only because it was the sole means of raising the energy of the smaller nobles, at a time when circumstances which we have had sufficient opportunity of describing, had introduced general ignorance and torpor into the country. The author of that confederation, Adam Krasinski, bishop of Kamieniec, has never been accused of bigotry. The contemporary Protestant author, Walch, who had great means of information about the Polish affairs of that time, positively states that the bishop of Kamieniec was by no means actuated by religious bigotry ; but he accuses him of personal ambition, and maintains that his chief object in devising the scheme of the confederation was to put on the throne of Poland Prince Charles of Saxony, duke of Courland, and son of the king, Augustus the Third, who was married to a Krasinski.—Vide "*Walch's Neueste Kirchengeschichte*," vol. vii. p. 8, and following. Rhuilhère, on the contrary, maintains that the bishop of Kamieniec was entirely free from selfish views for the aggrandisement of his family, as well as from religious bigotry, (vol. ii. p. 420.) The
author

since that time a single act of persecution against them. The unfortunate monarch, Stanislaw Poniatowski, tried in vain to prevent, as well the dismemberment of his kingdom, as a proposed restriction of the little authority possessed by the crown, by the establishment of a permanent council, without the assent of which no important decision was in future to be taken. In order to gain popularity with those who considered him as a tool of Russia, he denounced the dissidents, in a public speech delivered on the 10th May 1773, and their ambition, as the sole cause of the misfortunes of the country. He exhorted the diet to exclude them from the senate and the chamber of the nuncios, and to strengthen the penal laws against apostacy (from Romanism). He repeated, in his private conversations with the senators and nuncios, the same accusations, which, besides being in themselves absurd, came with particularly bad grace from one whose ambition to possess himself of a throne, to occupy which he was incompetent, an ambition that had

Restrictions imposed on the dissidents (1775) by the same diet which sanctions the first dismemberment of Poland.

author of this sketch had an opportunity of examining the papers left by that patriotic prelate, and he found there many proofs of a mind very enlightened, and far above superstition and fanaticism. In addition to the confederation of Bar, which that bishop organized, he rendered himself conspicuous in the annals of his country, by having made the motion upon which the election of the kings was abolished, and the throne proclaimed hereditary by the constitution of the 3d May 1791.

been gratified by the very means which the Protestants were reproached by him with having employed for the recovery of their ancient rights, was certainly one of the principal causes of the calamities which he attributed to them. Notwithstanding his efforts, the diet of 1775, which confirmed the first dismemberment of Poland, excluded the dissidents from the senate only, but allowed three nuncios to be elected from them. A tribunal, called *judicium mixtum*, composed of Roman Catholics as well as dissident members, (established 1768), in order to judge affairs relating to matters of religion, and arising from collisions between the Roman Catholic church and dissident confessions, was likewise abolished, but in all other respects their rights and privileges remained unaltered.*

The Protestants having recovered the full enjoyment of religious liberty, made several attempts, but without any result, to effect a union

* Walch positively states, that the courts of Russia and Prussia had beforehand resolved to abandon the dissidents at the diet which was to confirm the first spoliation of the Polish territory; consequently, if there was any vindictive feeling amongst the nation, they would have been deprived, without any opposition, of all their rights and privileges. It is very remarkable, that the same diet of 1775, in abridging the liberties of the dissidents, cancelled the enactment of 1768, which declared the proposal of an anti-Romanist candidate to the throne an act of high treason.

between the Reformed and Lutheran confessions.

The national intellect, which had been long and deplorably benighted, underwent a rapid development under the reign of Stanislaw Ponia-towski, particularly since the dissolution of the celebrated order of the Jesuits, in 1775. A commission, or board of public education, composed of the most enlightened persons of the country, contributed powerfully to this fortunate revolution, by the reform of the universities of Cracow and Vilna, the creation of many new schools, and the re-organization of old ones ; whilst the extensive estates which had belonged to the Jesuits were assigned for the support of educational establishments. It is indeed remarkable that Poland, in the short period of tranquillity from 1775-1791, made far greater progress in learning, and produced more works of merit, than during the whole period of the Jesuit domination over public education, a period which lasted nearly a century and a half. This progress of learning began to exercise a most salutary effect on the state of religion in Poland, and the historian whom we have already quoted justly observes, that the conscientious zeal of the clergy began, by the sincere piety, enlightened zeal, and pure manners of many of its members, to exercise the most salutary influence on the minds of their congregations. They began gradually to purify worship from many supersti-

Prospects of a reform of the national church of Poland, favoured by the rapid development of the national intellect, 1775-1791, destroyed by the political dissolution of that country.

tious rites and practices, and this progress was so rapid that the papal nuncios dared not interfere; and, in the course of a few years, bigotry and fanaticism began to give way to feelings of fraternal love towards the members of other confessions.*

Can it be doubted, that if Poland had been permitted peaceably to follow its career of improvement, amongst other reforms the most important of all, that of its church would have been effected? The long diet, 1789-1791, which introduced the constitution that drew forth the eulogies of Burke and Fox, meditated also the beginning of a reform of the Polish church by the establishment of a permanent national synod.† This would have been a great step towards its ultimate reformation; but the unfortunate events which followed that diet, and brought about the dissolution of Poland, prevented this, as well as many other improvements, from taking place.

Remarkable coincidence between the fortunes of Poland and its Protestant inhabitants.

It is very remarkable, that every public misfortune which befel Poland seemed to fall with particular weight on the Protestants of that country, whose prosperity was linked with the most brilliant era of Polish annals, the palmy

* Vide "*Lelene's History of the Reign of Stanislaw Poniatowsky.*"

† Czacki on the laws of Poland and Lithuania.

days of Sigismund Augustus and Stephen Batory. Thus the calamity to which Poland was subject, during the reign of John Casimir, had the most deplorable effect on the affairs of the Protestants; the treaty of 1717, which struck the first blow at the national independence, imposed also the first legal restriction on the religious liberty of the Protestants. The long reign of the Saxon dynasty, which by enervating the national energy prepared the fall of Poland, was also destructive of the remaining liberties of the anti-Romanists, and the first dismemberment of Poland was accompanied by a diminution of their rights. Yet nowhere did this coincidence appear in so striking a manner as on the closing scene of Poland, the most fatal day of its annals, the 5th November 1794. Amongst the small number of troops destined to defend the extensive fortifications of the suburb Praga against the numerous forces of Suwarroff, were included a part of the guards of Lithuania, almost exclusively officered by Protestant nobles of that province, and the fifth regiment of infantry, which contained many of them. The commander of this last-named regiment, Count Paul Grabowski, belonging to a distinguished Protestant family, a young man of great merit, was then laid up with illness. He dragged himself, however, from his sick-bed, in order not to miss the post of honour on the night when the attack was expected. He found

a glorious death at the head of his regiment, which, together with the Lithuanian guards, were lost to a man ; not a single man escaped—not a single man surrendered. This fatal day threw into mourning almost all the noble Protestant families of Lithuania, each of them having the death of a near or distant relative to lament. If the Protestants of Poland have rendered themselves obnoxious to reproach by the means which they employed to obtain redress of their wrongs, they have nobly atoned for the error by the expiatory sacrifice which they made of themselves on the funeral pile of their country.

RECAPITULATION,

AND

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

HAVING concluded a sketch of the rise, progress, and decline of the Reformation in Poland, we now venture to offer some few general remarks on the subject.

The rapid progress which the doctrines of the Reformation made was owing chiefly to the fact, that they found the ground well prepared, as well by the doctrines of Huss as by the free institutions at that time enjoyed, not only by the privileged class of nobles, but also by the towns which had not then lost their liberties, and that could shelter them from the persecution of the clergy. The liberty of the press, on which restrictions were not permitted, and which, in 1539, was acknowledged by a royal ordinance, contributed powerfully to the spread of the doctrines which were rapidly imported from western Europe. The same causes, however, were greatly instrumental in preventing them from being established on a firm basis. These doctrines, being pro-

moted by individual exertion, and not by the supreme authority of the country, were breaking up the established church into fragmentary communities, but were not reforming it, and, therefore, were unable to establish an uniform system of national worship, notwithstanding the sincere efforts of many to attain such a desideratum, and the temporary success of the *consensus* of Sandomir. The exertions of that eminent reformer, John Laski, who, after his return from England, endeavoured to organize the Protestant congregations into one national church, on the model of the Anglican one, at the reformation of which he had laboured, and which he considered as the model of perfection, would, perhaps, have been crowned with success had his life been longer spared. In the last chapter of our first volume we gave our reasons for believing that Sigismund Augustus, with several prelates, meditated the great work of reforming the national church by an act of the supreme legislature, and that his demise prevented the execution of a revolution that would not only have established the dominion of scriptural religion over Poland, but have promoted it among all the Slavonian nations. We must also observe, that there are good reasons for ascribing the vacillation of this monarch, which made him delay the accomplishment of so great a work, although he was evidently imbued with anti-Romanist opinions, to the differences

which strongly divided the Reformers. Anti-Trinitarian speculations were entertained by some of his intimate confidants, and unsettled his mind in a manner that hindered him to come to a decisive resolution. Yet, notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, which stood in the way of a reformation of the church by the legislative authority, the Protestants might have easily achieved the triumph of their cause had they not committed unpardonable faults, and betrayed their cause by the most disgraceful dissensions. Not only did they quarrel in the face of a formidable enemy, but even assisted him against other Protestants. This, as we have had but too many opportunities of relating, was unfortunately the case with the Lutherans, who constantly showed great hostility to the Bohemian and Helvetian confessions, which eventually became completely national. The Augustan confession being one that extended chiefly amongst the German settlers in towns always retaining something of a foreign character, and never interweaving itself with the nation's life. It was this unfortunate spirit of hostility and dissension that prompted the chief Lutheran families, the powerful houses of the Zborowskis and Gorkas, to support a Roman Catholic candidate, rather than see the throne occupied by a follower of the Reformed church. In addition to these unfortunate divisions, which weakened the Protestants, opposed

as they were to a formidable and uncompromising enemy, the anti-Trinitarian doctrines, which sprung up almost simultaneously amongst the Helvetian churches, were (as indeed it could not well be otherwise) singularly mischievous to the Protestant cause. These daring speculations subversive of revelation itself, and supported by men of extraordinary talents, not only sowed division in the very camp of the Reformers, but caused many to desert it. Many of those whose minds were filled with doubt and uncertainty, sought refuge in the pale of the old church, preferring a positive doctrine founded on evangelical truth, although defaced by the additions of dark ages, to one which set no bounds to human reason, destroyed the very foundations of Christianity, and threw the mind into that unsettled state which leads to infidelity. It is scarcely necessary to add, that a natural consequence of this uncertainty was indifference in matters of religion, and that those Protestants who had the misfortune to fall into this wretched state of mind, had not much hesitation in conforming to the church which assured them the greatest temporal advantages. Besides these errors, and they caused internal weakness, the Protestant party committed several other faults that contributed to their ruin. The greatest of these was certainly that which the anti-Romanists committed at the celebrated confederation of 1573;

by which civil and religious rights, equal to those of the Roman Catholics, were guaranteed to them. It was not sufficient, as experience proved, to exact a guarantee of their rights by the legislature of the country,—a guarantee which the Roman Catholic clergy at once declared invalid, by their refusal to subscribe to it, and which their efforts soon rendered nugatory and ultimately destroyed. The anti-Romanists ought not to have desisted until they had rendered their uncompromising enemy innocuous, by taking from him the means of injuring them, and reducing him to an equal footing with themselves ; that is, until they had excluded the bishops from the senate, and declared, by the voice of the legislature, that the Roman Catholic church was not the dominant one of Poland, and wrested from the Roman Catholic church those means of exercising influence on temporal affairs, which it possessed in preference to the anti-Romanist creeds. Had the temporal faculties of the established church been reduced to such a state, the anti-Romanist would have possessed the advantage of opposing it on equal grounds, instead of being duped, as they were, into a peace, from its very nature delusive and impossible, with an enemy, who, regarding them as rebels and usurpers, abstained from combatting them only when prevented by the impossibility of doing so. The Protestants, at that time, united with the followers of the Eastern

church, possessed sufficient forces for accomplishing that triumph which could alone give them security; and the general disposition of minds in Poland was then such as to insure them strong support, even from among many Roman Catholics. Yet, instead of following such a course, which every sound principle of self-preservation ought to have dictated to them, the anti-Romanist party was infatuated enough to guarantee all their existing rights and privileges of the very Romanist clergy, for none of the bishops, with the exception of him of Cracow, subscribed the confederation of 1573, who refused to give an equal assurance to their opponents. Another error committed by the Protestants, and on the same occasion, was an enactment of a clause which gave to the landowners an unlimited power over their peasantry, and which, though evidently dictated by the alarm created by the excesses which a fanatical rabble had committed in Germany, disgraced the confederation. Yet this very clause might have proved a source of blessing to the country, as it became one of curses; had the Protestant landowners taken advantage of the power which it gave them over their vassals, to convert them to the scriptural doctrines, and to couple their civil with their religious emancipation. We have no hesitation in saying that the Protestants were guilty of the grossest dereliction of duty towards God and their country, by not fol-

lowing the course thus dictated to them, as well by the precepts of religion and morality as by principles of sound policy. The conversion and emancipation of a large number of peasantry would have exercised an irresistible action on the whole of that part of the population in Poland, would have determined the balance in favour of the Reformation, and have given an impulse the most happy to the development of the national welfare, in moral as well as material respects. It is not, however, in all respects quite fair to judge the men and the opinions of that time according to those of our own ; and great allowances should be made in favour of men educated in those prejudices of caste, from which no part of Europe was at that time free, and alarmed by the excesses committed by the peasantry of Germany, which were artfully magnified by the Romanist party, and cited as proofs of the dangerous tendency of the doctrines of the Reformation. It is true that some synods, and particularly those of Vlodislav and Cracow (1573), recommended that especial care should be taken of the lower classes, and that the Bohemian brethren had been always anxious to promote religious and moral instruction amongst those classes, as well as to improve their material well-being ; but the unceasing re-action, which began with the accession of Sigismund the Third, and continued with increasing vigour during his reign of

forty years, soon thinned the ranks of the Protestants, and permitted them not to exert their influence on the lower classes, which, as they were the most ignorant, so were they the more easily acted upon by the Romanist clergy. This very circumstance, however, should have rendered the Protestants the more anxious to convert their peasantry, and to bind them to themselves by elevating their condition in moral and civil respects, which would have been the surest means of so strengthening their party as to enable it to oppose its enemies successfully. Such, however, was not generally the case, and this neglect may be considered as having contributed much to the ruin of the Protestant cause in Poland.*

Such was the condition of the Protestants. Now let us consider the enemies they had to contend with. These enemies were the Jesuits, who directed all the movements of the Romanist party in Poland, over which, in consequence of their having monopolized the whole of the public education, they had succeeded in esta-

* The princes Radziwill converted several thousands of their peasantry in Samogitia, whose descendants still preserve their religion and present, according to the unanimous evidence of Roman Catholics, a most advantageous contrast in point of information, morality and material welfare with the surrounding Roman Catholic peasantry. The Polish peasants are now entirely free, except in those provinces which were taken by Russia at the three successive dismemberments of Poland.

blishing unlimited influence. Of this formidable body a description has been given by that eminent French writer, Abbé de Lamennais, conceived with such superior talent and evident impartiality, that we cannot do better than here introduce a translation of it. "If we seek," says he, "the source of the peculiar character that distinguished this society from its very origin, of the spirit which has constantly animated it, of the praises which were lavished upon it, as well as of the bitter reproaches directed against it, we think that it will be found in the very principle that presided over its formation. This principle is the destruction of the individuality of each member of the body, in order thereby to increase the strength and unity of the whole. The actions, the words, and even the thoughts of the Jesuits are subject to obedience, nay, to absolute obedience. A chief, called general, and some assistants, who aid and advise him, form the government of the association, and are its reason, its will, the remainder blindly following the impulse which that government gives to them. Nothing is so strongly inculcated by the writings of the founder than this entire self-denial. Such is the sacrifice which the order exacts from every one who enters it, and the following are its consequences:—however a man may strive, it is entirely impossible for him to attain such a degree of self-denial; his efforts to succeed in it only make

him change the object of feelings which he imagines he has destroyed ; his whole being enters the collective body to which he is united, and into which he merges ; he lives and loves himself in it, and this love, the first of his duties, is the more ardent and active as he becomes bound by conscience to seek his own satisfaction ; and as he who experiences it, being directed by orders which have become to him an absolute law, unless they imply a direct and evident violation of Divine precepts, is freed from every moral responsibility. Thus the passions, constrained by a severe rule so long as they referred directly to the individual, are sanctified and not destroyed. They pass in some measure into the service of the body, which employs and directs them in order to attain its object. This object being honourable and good, determines also what is good in the action of the body ; but it tends towards that object with a constant view of self, of its own grandeur, its own power, its own glory. Its members, considered separately, have no personal pride, no ambition, no desire of riches, but they collectively have immense cupidity, ambition, and pride. Hence they have in them something anti-social. A single individual, thus concentrated in himself, would be a perfect pattern of egotism, and whatever might have been his ultimate object, he would be entirely separated from the remainder of the human race ; and in-

deed the Jesuits had every where a separate existence, mingling with and into all things, they do not amalgamate with any thing; an insurmountable barrier exists between them and other men; they may come in contact with them on all points, but they will not unite in any one, and that is one of the motives of that vague distrust which they have instinctively inspired in all times.

“The necessity of exercising a great influence, which is innate in that society—a necessity which had frequently the effect of rendering them little scrupulous about the means of attaining success,—subjected them to the accusation of aspiring to universal dominion. We believe that the dominion to which the society of the Jesuits aspire is that of (Roman) Catholicism; but it wishes that such a dominion should be almost exclusively its own work. This is the task which the Jesuits have undertaken, and whoever, having the same object in view, does not place himself with docility under their direction, gives umbrage to them, excites their jealousy, and must expect, according to circumstances, either to be exposed to their open hostility, or to a thousand obstacles and vexations which they will raise against him.

“The destruction, I do not say subordination, of individuality, which is the duty of every Jesuit, produces another consequence. In the intellectual order of things, there is no other than individual worth; and this worth grows in proportion

to the facility or liberty which it has of developing itself. It is impossible to think with the brains of another, or to invent at command ; genius and talent are not the attributes of a corporate body. When such a body substitutes itself for an individual, and absorbs him in itself, it renounces the means of ever possessing men of great superiority ; men to whom subjugated minds will of their own accord bow ; and thence is it unable to govern through intellect. This is, indeed, what has happened to the Jesuits. They have never produced a philosopher, a poet,* a historian, an orator, or a scholar of the first order. Inanity and scholastic wit are, with few exceptions, the characteristics of their writers. As they found it impossible to act on the world and exercise over it, either by science or thought, the influence they desired, they were obliged to open for themselves another path, and to cheat the depositories of power, in order to participate in it, to insinuate themselves into the favour of kings and princes, ministers and their favourites, in order to lay hold of them ; and consequently to intrigue, to flatter, to employ cunning

* We must differ in this from the talented writer whom we quote, and we think that our countryman, Casimir Sarbiewski, a Jesuit, whom learned Europe has acknowledged to be the first Latin poet amongst the moderns, and of whom Grotius has said, "*Non solum æquavit sed etiam superavit Horatium*," was certainly a great poet. It is, however, true, that a great poetical talent does not imply an advanced state of intellect, either of the society or the country to which the individual gifted with it belongs.

and artifice, rather to work under-ground than to march upon it, and in every sense to turn, their only means of governing the world, being the government of the powers by which it is ruled.”*

Such is a description of that celebrated order, wrung by circumstances from one who has been the most eminent champion of Romanism in modern times. Is it, then, astonishing that a body so strongly organized should break the dis-united ranks of the Protestants, and that their loose bands could not withstand this admirably trained phalanx of the Roman church? The organization of the Jesuits produced its natural consequences on Poland. Having obtained unlimited sway over the national education, they absorbed into their body the few whose talents, in spite of the most unfavourable method of instruction followed in their schools, developed themselves. Notwithstanding that they succeeded in establishing their influence over all the concerns of the nation, from the most important public transactions to the most secret family affairs, their body remained always a kind of alien power, encamped in the midst of the nation, but foreign to all its interests. They employed it as a tool in the attainment of their objects, notwithstanding the great influence which they possessed at all Roman Catholic courts never using that

* Vide Lamennais, “*Affaires de Rome.*”

influence, to advance the interests of Poland, which they always recklessly sacrificed to the promotion of the supremacy of Rome. As the Jesuits could not govern by intellect and thought they laboured to darken and suppress both with success—on the mournful consequences of which we have sufficiently expatiated*—as their sole means of participating in power was to surround with intrigues and wiles those who possessed it, there was no kind of intrigue and flattery which they did not employ to influence, not only the monarchs of Poland, but also the powerful families who established in those melancholy times of national decline an oligarchic power incompatible with the authority of the monarch and the liberty of the citizens.

Poland was also particularly unfortunate in the election of Sigismund the Third, whose long reign was exclusively devoted to assisting the efforts of the Jesuits for the extension of the supremacy of Rome, and this with an utter disregard of the

* We must add, as a proof of the intellectual degradation and the corruption of taste introduced by the Jesuits into the country, that the most classical productions of the sixteenth century, the Augustan era of Polish literature, were not reprinted during a space of more than a century, although after the revival of learning in Poland they went through many editions and still continue to be reprinted. Thus the poems of John Kochanowski (died 1584), were printed several times before 1639; but from that year there was no new edition till 1767, which has since been followed by many others.

national interests, the lamentable effects of which we have largely described. Such causes would have produced similar effects every where, and indeed the cause of the Reformation has depended in many countries on the religious opinions of their monarchs. Although the Reformation was already legally established in England as the religion of the state, yet Queen Mary not only re-established Romanism at once, but sent to a cruel death the principal Reformers of the Anglican church, a deed which Sigismund the Third was never able to imitate in Poland, although there was certainly no reluctance on his part, or that of his supporters, to commit similar enormities. This is sufficiently proved by the cases of Franco and Tyszkiewicz.* Had Providence prolonged Queen Mary's reign to the length of that of Sigismund the Third, who can say whether Romanism would not have been now dominant in this island? Even the short reign of James the Second, alone as he was in his persuasions against an established church, with a parliament and the great majority of the nation belonging to it, was fraught with danger to that church, which had experience of desertion from some individuals, who bartered their religion for the monarch's favour. Considering all these circumstances, none will wonder that forty years of a reign of a monarch

* Vide pages 184 and 187.

whose only object was the triumph of Romanism, and who had such able and zealous supporters as the Jesuits, had produced the effect towards which it was tending, and reduced the Protestants to such a state of weakness that they were no longer able to cope with the Romanists, and were since that time rapidly hurried towards their destruction. It was only owing to the humanity of the national character, adverse to every violence and persecution, that the Protestants were not exterminated; for had not the Romanist clergy been checked by the more influential nobles in their career of persecution, there is no reason to suppose that the same scenes of bloodshed and oppression which had disgraced several other countries, would not have been enacted in Poland. It was this humane character of the Polish nation, which, with the liberties of the nobles or equestrian order, prevented for so long a time the deprivation of the anti-Romanists of their rights and privileges; and even in the worst time of their oppression not only preserved their properties untouched, but opened to them a field of honourable exertion, by admitting them to all ranks in the military service. The only dark page of religious persecution, legally ordered, is that of the Socinians; still this persecution is not to be compared to that with which such daring speculations as theirs were visited in other countries. We have

now been speaking of the equestrian order or the nobles, the ruling class in Poland. Great, certainly, were the errors and faults of that privileged caste, yet their services to the country, as well as to the whole of Christendom, were also important. History has rendered justice to the chivalrous valour with which they defended Europe against the barbarians of the East, we shall consider their services in reference to religion and learning. It was that class which produced the most eminent Reformers as well as authors of Poland, such as Laski, Rey, Trzecieski, Modrzewski, Orzechowski, &c. &c. who rendered eminent services to the cause of the Reformation as well as to that of literature, and of whom many gained a high reputation abroad. It was this class also which devoted itself to the ministry of scriptural religion and the synods; it was members of this class who exerted themselves to promote the cause of the Reformation; it was members of this class that frequently arrived straight from the camp to take a part in the deliberations of the church, and returned after having done their duty to their religion to combat the enemies of their country, or to deliberate on its affairs either at a diet or at a provincial assembly. This active life did not prevent many of them from pursuing serious studies; of which the best evidence is given by the works they left. Such was the equestrian order of Poland in the days of its

political and intellectual grandeur, making up by much real worth and many noble qualities for a turbulent spirit and immoderate attachment to its privileges. But the education of the Jesuits produced a most melancholy change in the character of the Polish noble; ignorance and superstition usurped the place of knowledge; and all his learning became limited to talking bad Latin, with which he interlarded all his speeches and letters. As was quite natural, his turbulence, pride, and prejudices increased under such circumstances, whilst his energies were benumbed in the same ratio as his intellect was bedimmed. This produced that general torpor and moral paralysis that we have seen prevailing under the reign of the Saxon dynasty, and which has prevented the excitement of that old spirit of the Polish equestrian order, which had saved Poland from situations much more dangerous than that which became a prelude to its first dismemberment. Had the clergy used their immense influence over the national mind with that zeal which they displayed when exciting the nation against the Protestants of Thorn, the country would have soon been delivered from foreign oppression. But they did not do so.

The great mass of the Polish nation are, generally speaking, religiously disposed, and the severe calamities to which the country has been so often subjected has fortunately much increased

that disposition. Their belief is sincere but unenlightened ; and the simple-hearted and simple-minded peasants crowd the churches with a profound feeling of devotion to their Maker, but yet with a vague idea of the most important tenets of Christianity, for the clergy have taken but little care to enlighten them upon the principles of their belief. This same feeling is closely interwoven with the sentiment of nationality, and the same war cry* with which the Polish chivalry had combated the infidels in the days of its ancient glory, animated the Polish soldier during the last struggle for national independence, and with as much devotion and sincerity to the cause they defended. This feeling requires only to be developed by a proper cultivation of the national intellect, in order to become productive of all that is great and good, and the source of the greatest blessings to the country, elevating the nation in religious, and consequently in moral, intellectual, and political respects. This great desideratum, which was so near being realized during the sixteenth century, was, in the first place, prevented by the fatal reaction of Romanism, which plunged the nation in a state of intellectual barbarism ; and afterwards, when it had begun to emerge with a rapidity from a long darkness, by the events which destroyed the political existence of Poland,

* " *Wiara-naprzod*," i. e. " faith advance."

and imprinted on the national mind an almost uniform direction, which is a strong and universal desire for the restoration of the political existence of Poland. It is very remarkable, indeed, that the political dissolution of the country has given a new and powerful impulse to national life, and created amongst its inhabitants that unconquerable feeling of nationality which is strengthened and increased by the very causes which were apparently calculated to destroy it. What can be more unfavourable to the progress of the language and literature of a country, than its being deprived of political existence, and dissevered in many parts which are incorporated into other states? Yet, notwithstanding that such is the case of Poland, Polish literature has made rapid strides, and works of considerable merit were published, not only in several parts of Poland, but also abroad, nay even at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Vienna. The unsuccessful attempts which the Poles have made to recover their political existence, and which have finished in bitter disappointment and increased their sufferings, instead of damping their hopes seem only to have invigorated them. It is this, and exclusively this feeling, without any admixture of Jacobinism, democracy, or any peculiar political theory, which made them always willingly submit to every sacrifice for the recovery of their national independence; of which they have given manifest proofs, not only by their

recent struggle for that object, but perhaps even more by the cheerful resignation with which they lavished their lives in the service of France, combating under the banners of that country in Egypt, Italy, Saint Domingo, and Spain, from a delusive hope that she would reward their services by the restoration of their country. This feeling animates now not only the patriots who expiate their want of success in the mines and deserts of Siberia, as well as the homeless exiles who, like the children of Israel, are wandering over all parts of the world, but also the inhabitant of every palace and cottage in Poland. Nay, it is not only those whose prospects are dimmed, and persons oppressed by the melancholy state of their country, who partake of that general feeling ; a secret longing to see his country restored fills the heart of many a Pole who, loaded with all possible favours of fortune, is invested with high dignities by the courts of whose dominions the ancient Polish provinces form now a part. Even stronger proofs of the intensity of that universal feeling are afforded by the instances of many Poles who, having every thing to lose by the events which have recently agitated that country, without any prospect of gaining by it adequate advantages, joined the insurrectionary movement without any other object in view than that of promoting the restoration of their country. This was particularly the case with several individuals enjoying all the

advantages of rank and fortune, but suffering from the idea that their fathers had rendered themselves guilty of political crimes or errors which had contributed to the fall of their country. They cheerfully sacrificed all the advantages they had possessed, in order to atone for the faults of their ancestors, and to wipe from their name the blot which was attached to it. Many of those high-minded individuals now live in exile, and from the idea that they have expiated the fault of their ancestor, consider themselves much more happy in their present reduced circumstances, than when they were in the full enjoyment of all the favours of fortune. Is it possible to believe that Providence would have implanted such a feeling in the hearts of a nation without an adequate purpose for it? No, we are convinced that the severe trials to which it has subjected us will ultimately prove a source of still greater blessings, and that they are a necessary preparation for a better state of things. Indeed the continued suffering to which Poland has for so many years been exposed, have not only invigorated the feeling which we have described, but also wrought a most salutary effect on the character of the nation, by extirpating the wretched opinions disseminated by the French philosophy of the eighteenth century, which produced everywhere so much mischief. Religious feelings, which had been much injured, are rapidly increas-

ing in Poland, and manifest themselves, not only in external acts of devotion, but also in a daily improving tone of morals. This fortunate advancement will be conducive not only to the political, but also religious emancipation of the country, because no circumstance is more adverse to a reform in the affairs of the church than religious indifference, and there is more hope of bringing a great but sincere bigot to sound religious notions than one who is indifferent about the principles upon which a creed is based. We repeat, therefore, that the religious emancipation of Poland will be consequent on its political freedom, and in all humility we hope that Providence, after having prepared her by the severe trials through which, in its inscrutable ways, it leads us, will finally grant to her the object of all her wishes—a perfect national independence—which is the greatest earthly boon a country can possess.*

* Rome, with its usual sagacity, foresees the danger to its dominions in Poland, should that country be restored to an independent state. Hence the celebrated *breve*, addressed, 1832, by Gregory the Sixteenth to the bishops of Poland, by which he condemned in strong terms the insurrection of that country. The same *breve* mentions another one of a similar tenour, sent to the same country, during the time of its struggle, but which, as the Pope complains, did not reach its destination. We think, however, that this complaint is not entirely grounded; and that although it would not be publicly proclaimed, it must have circulated amongst some of the clergy;

It would be idle to discuss the probabilities of such an event ; to speculate whether it shall be

because it is a known fact, that the monks of the missionary order particularly devoted to Rome, refused absolution to the Polish soldiers, because they were fighting against the emperor of Russia. We must, however, not omit a circumstance related by the Abbé de Lamennais, whose doctrine, whether political or religious, we do not share, but whose sincerity and veracity stand above suspicion. He states, that the pope being afraid lest Austria might not be tempted to appropriate to herself a part of his dominions, known under the name of Legations, obtained from Russia a guarantee of his possession of them, on condition of issuing the abovementioned *breve*.—Vide "*Affaires de Rome*." Thus, the motive to that circular was not only the maintenance of the spiritual domination of the pope in Poland, but also the preservation of his worldly dominions in Italy. The official gazette of Rome, which had abstained from every censure on the Polish insurrection until its unsuccessful issue, poured forth the foulest abuse on those very men to whose bravery and devotion their political adversaries have rendered justice. The pope had, indeed, good reason to be afraid of the success of the Polish insurrection, as there was already in course of circulation amongst several younger clergymen, a plan of emancipating and reforming the Polish church on the following principles :—complete separation from Rome ; introduction of the national language into the divine service ; permission of marriage to the clergy ; the hierarchy was to be preserved ; and the dogma of the transubstantiation, as well as the auricular confession, left to the conscience of every one. We must also remark, that the religious excitement which now exists in Prussian Poland is by no means the proof of a blind attachment to Romanism, but only a manifestation of the national feeling adroitly directed in that channel, and which, in defending Romanism, seeks only to defend the Polish nationality from the influence of Germanism.

brought about by one of those storms which have recently agitated Europe, setting at nought the best calculated schemes and provisions of the wisest statesmen of our times; and which it is still apprehended, or hoped by many, will produce great changes in the actual political system of Europe; or whether it shall be effected by a voluntary act of those very powers who now hold the dissevered parts of Poland, and who perchance may at some future time be impelled by views of sound policy, based on principles of justice and morality, to consolidate the peace of Europe by atoning for the greatest political crime that blots the pages of modern history, which would indeed be fortunate for humanity, and prevent the possibility of commotions, productive of the greatest sufferings to mankind. We have no hope that such a feeble voice as ours should ever penetrate into the councils of the high powers which rule over the divided parts of Poland, yet we think that the natural consequence of reasoning, and the experience of many years, will finally demonstrate to them the impolicy of the dismemberment of Poland. If this subject be examined in a dispassionate manner, the result will show that none of the partitioning powers had acquired by that act of injustice advantages sufficient to counterbalance the evil consequences of it.

It is needless to recal here the opposition offered to the first dismemberment by the virtuous Maria

Theresa, whose scruples of conscience and sound political views were silenced and obscured by the wiles of her artful councillors. It is also well known, that Austria has much repented of the partition of Poland, and was ready at the congress of Vienna (1815) to restore its share of the spoil, in order to contribute to the erection of an independent kingdom of Poland. Have the real interests of Prussia been promoted through the extension of its frontiers by the acquisition of Polish territory? We shall not attempt to discuss here the impolicy of having destroyed a barrier between its dominions and the great Colossus of the North, whose advanced posts are now within a few days' march from the Prussian capital. There is another circumstance, which according to our humble opinion renders the Polish acquisitions rather a source of weakness than strength to the Prussian monarchy. The Prussian government, although theoretically a despotic one, is eminently progressive, and rapidly advancing towards a constitutional regimen. The system of general education which that government has introduced amongst all classes of society is certainly the most direct and effectual means of making a nation acquainted with the principles of rational liberty, and consequently prepare it for self-government. A no less decided step taken by the Prussian government towards the same consequence is the entrusting of the defence

of the country to the nation itself by the general arming and training of its citizens ; this important measure forbids even now the administration of that country to follow any course which would be in opposition to the general opinion of the inhabitants, and renders the introduction of representative forms only a matter of time, because should the public opinion of the nation require their introduction, they must be granted ; and there is no doubt that this important event will be accomplished, at no distant time, by government itself, whose political sagacity will best know the fittest time for the introduction of such a change. The impulse which such an event must give to the mind will be particularly felt by the Polish population of the kingdom, which will seize that opportunity to give the strongest development to its nationality, for which the liberty of the press, that indispensable accompaniment of a modern constitutional government, will afford the greatest facilities. Will it not constitute a foreign element, and consequently hostile, to the German unity of the empire, and will it not clog and impede the progress of the whole, by an unavoidable tendency to separate from the rest, and become moreover a constant source from which every opposition to the government will infallibly derive considerable assistance ? Will this great moral disadvantage be compen-

sated by the few material profits derived from the parcel of Polish territory held now by Prussia?

The greatest part of the ancient Polish dominions are now in the possession of Russia, and the prevailing opinion is that Russia has gained immensely by this acquisition, having acquired not only extensive provinces, but also come into a close contact with western Europe, from which it had been separated by Poland. We venture, however, to differ from that opinion, and think that the moral and real disadvantages to which Russia has become liable, by annexing to her vast possessions the Polish provinces, greatly outweigh the material and specious advantages gained by those acquisitions. It is well known that the Russian minister, Panin, taking a statesmanlike view of the question, strenuously opposed the first partition of Poland, considering that country as a barrier between Russia and western Europe necessary for the advantage of both, and covered by which Russia could pursue not only a career of peaceful conquest more profitable than the most brilliant triumphs obtained in war, by advancing the civilization and welfare of its extensive dominions; but also, if she wished to extend her territory, to do it in the East without being disturbed by an immediate contact with the affairs of Europe. Can there be any doubt that if Russia had employed the

expenditure of men and money, which she has lavished in wars, into which she has been unavoidably drawn by the position she has occupied through her acquisition of the Polish territory, for promoting her conquests in the East, all Central Asia, as well as Persia, would have been long since under her dominion. The progress of Russian power in the East would have been much more easily consolidated than in the West, because, advancing in the former direction, she would have had to deal with populations of an inferior civilization to her own, and consequently likely to benefit under her domination, whilst the contrary happens with her extension towards the West, where she meets a civilization superior to that of her population. Acquisitions made in that quarter will be always in a state of tacit opposition, or even permanent conspiracy, which are sometimes more dangerous than the open hostility of a powerful enemy. Now this is exactly the relation in which Poland stands to Russia, the popular forms by which the former of these countries was governed for several centuries have penetrated deeply into the national habits, and render the Poles fit for a constitutional government, which is best proved by the long existence of Poland in an independent state, notwithstanding a most vicious form of government, the dissolving principle of which no other nation would have perhaps withstood for so long a time.

On the other side, Russia, which owes its very origin and subsequent development and progress to the strong hand of an arbitrary power, contains at present no elements of a constitutional form of government, and cannot advance in the career of improvement and civilization except under the guidance of an absolute power. The amalgamation of two such discordant elements is impossible, and must necessarily produce consequences of the most deplorable nature for both nations. Catherine, whose foreseeing policy perceived at once the impossibility to destroy the new element which she had introduced into her empire, by the first dismemberment of Poland, tried to assimilate both nations by adopting a middle course, and not only left in the newly-acquired provinces the ancient popular forms for the local government, according to which almost all the provincial authorities were elective, but extended them to the ancient provinces of Russia. The action of these popular forms, which present a great anomaly in a despotic government, was rendered perfectly nugatory by the subjection of the elective authorities to officers appointed by the crown, and has neither much flattered the Russians to whom it was granted, nor satisfied the Poles to whom it was left. The amalgamation of both nations, which could not be produced by the lenient measures to which we have alluded, can still less be effected by the violent measures

which are now employed for the accomplishment of the same purpose—a purpose fraught with danger to the tranquillity of the Russian empire. Instead of converting the Poles into Russians it must produce a most injurious effect on the latter, by instilling into their minds notions and ideas, which, however good, noble, and useful in countries prepared for them, are fit to disseminate amongst Russians only the seeds of anarchy and disorder. We do not deny that there are amongst Russians some individuals of very enlightened minds, and fit to become citizens of the most advanced states of Europe : but these are only exceptions to the general rule, for the bulk of the nation is still very far from having any real idea of civil or political liberty, and they may acquire them only by the slow process of general education and a gradual progress of its civil institutions, which cannot be effected except by the well-directed measures of an enlightened but strong government. The bulk of the Russian nation, although standing on a lower scale of civilization than other nations of Europe, possesses great energy of character which may be turned to the best account for the welfare of the Russian empire. The blind attachment to the rites of their Greek church and the idolatrous devotion to the emperor, which animates the lower classes of the Russian people, may be regarded as their national feeling and their patriotism, and

constitutes the main strength of the empire. This strength, this vital principle, of the existence of Russia will be not only impaired, but destroyed, when the minds of the great mass of the population shall become infected with liberal ideas, which cannot produce on such unprepared ground any sound notions of rational liberty, or anything but the wildest doctrines of democracy and jacobinism. This will be the natural consequence of a compulsory amalgamation of the Poles with the Russians, the former of them being dragged into the interior of Russia, or forced into its armies, will easily spread similar opinions amongst those with whom they will be in continual contact. This is the only arm which is left to the Poles for combating their oppressors, and it may inflict dangerous wounds! It is, indeed, exceedingly easy to spread disaffection amongst a population living even under the most popular government by representing to them their real or imaginary wrongs; how much more easily, then, in Russia, which suffers even more from a depraved administration than from the despotic form of its government, and where many millions of inhabitants are serfs. The conspiracies which seem now to become every day more frequent in Russia corroborate our opinion on this subject. This consideration did not escape the emperor Alexander, who when a part of Poland was erected by the congress of

Vienna, 1815, into a separate kingdom, connected with Russia only by the bond of a common sovereign, exhibited the intention of giving a separate administration to the remaining provinces of Poland incorporated with the Russian empire. Experience, however, proved how inadequate half measures were to repair the mischief done to the whole of the political system of Europe by the destruction of Poland, which was no less a political fault than a crime, and which has been acknowledged by an eminent author and diplomatist, who cannot be suspected of any leaning towards ultra-liberalism,* and who emphatically declared that he regarded the partition of Poland as one of the most odious and pernicious events of the eighteenth century: and, indeed, can the peace of Europe be regarded as solid, when the population of an immense territory is converted through the forced and unnatural position in which is kept by the partitioning powers into a permanent hot-bed of conspiracy and sedition, where every attempt of changing the established order of Europe, however wild and destructive, must find strong sympathies by raising hopes, which

* Gentz, in his work on the political state of Europe before and after the French Revolution. Gentz was well known as the right hand of Metternich, and by having composed the protocols of the congress of Vienna.



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